In The Matter Of:

United States vs.
PFC Bradley E. Manning

Vol. 28
August 5, 2013
UNOFFICIAL DRAFT - 8/5/13 Morning Session

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Min-U-Script® with Word Index

UNOFFICIAL DRAFT - 8/5/13 Morning Session

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1	VOLUME XXVIII	
2	IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY	
3		
4	UNITED STATES	
5	vs.	
6	MANNING, Bradley E., Pfc. COURT-MARTIAL	
7	U.S. Army, xxx-xx-9504	
8	Headquarters and Headquarters Company,	
9	U.S. Army Garrison,	
10	Joint Base Myer-Henderson Hall,	
11	Fort Myer, VA 22211	
12	/	
13		
14		
15		
16	The Hearing in the above-titled matter was	
17	held on Monday, August 5th, 2013, at 10:00 a.m., at	
18	Fort Meade, Maryland, before the Honorable Colonel	
19	Denise Lind, Judge.	
20		
21		

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UNOFFICIAL DRAFT - 8/5/13 Morning Session

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 5
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 6
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 7
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 8
   Mr. Coombs
 9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
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19
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21
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UNOFFICIAL DRAFT - 8/5/13 Morning Session

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1	APPEARANCES:		
2			
3	ON	BEHALF OF GOVERNMENT:	
4		MAJOR ASHDEN FEIN	
5		CAPTAIN JOSEPH MORROW	
6		CAPTAIN ANGEL OVERGAARD	
7		CAPTAIN HUNTER WHYTE	
8		CAPTAIN ALEXANDER van ELLEN	
9			
10	ON	BEHALF OF ACCUSED:	
11		DAVID COOMBS	
12		CAPTAIN JOSHUA TOOMAN	
13		MAJOR THOMAS HURLEY	
14			
15			
16			
17			
18			
19			
20			
21			

1	PROCEEDINGS,
2	THE CLERK: All rise.
3	THE COURT: Please be seated. The court is
4	called to order. Major Fein, please account for us?
5	MR. FEIN: Yes, ma'am. All parties in the
6	court last recess are again present with fine
7	exceptions. Captain Overgaard is present and
8	Mr. Chavez and the court reporter is present.
9	Mr. Robert Shaw is absent.
10	THE COURT: All right. Have there been any
11	new exhibits added to the Appellate exhibit list?
12	MR. FEIN: Yes, ma'am. Appellate
13	Exhibit 632, the Prosecution's response to the
14	Defense's motion to merge specifications 5 and 7 of
15	charge 2 dated 2 August, 2013. Exhibit 633 is
16	Prosecution response to Defense's motion to merge
17	specifications 4 and 6 of charge 2 dated 2 August, 2013
18	and Appellate Exhibit 634 is the Prosecution's response
19	to Defendant's motion to merge with an unreasonable
20	multiplication of charges for sentencing dated
21	2 August, 2013.

1	Also, Your Honor, as of 09:49 this morning,
2	there was ten members of the media in the operations
3	center, one stenographer. There's no media in the
4	court room and 19 spectators in the courtroom.
5	Currently, the overflow trailer is not being used but
6	is available if needed.
7	THE COURT: All right. Thank you. I also
8	received an E-mail from Defense counsel over the
9	weekend with respect to the unreasonable multiplication
10	of charges for findings motions.
11	I believe it was specifications 4 and 6 of
12	charge 2 that are at issue?
13	MR. COOMBS: That is correct, Your Honor.
14	After the 802 session, we spoke with government. I
15	believe what we'll do is put together a stipulation of
16	expected testimony and in order to highlight the issue
17	that the Defense believes was brought out in the
18	government's response motion.
19	THE COURT: All right. And does either
20	side desire oral argument with respect to that motion?
21	MR. COOMBS: I think once the yes, the

```
Defense would, Honor Honor.
 1
 2
                THE COURT: All right. So we'll have to
 3
    have a time that we build that in. What I'd like to do
    is get through the witnesses -- maybe get to the
 4
    witness today and this afternoon perhaps or, if that
 5
 6
    doesn't work, maybe we can do it tomorrow. The court
    will hold that ruling in advance pending oral argument.
 7
                MR. COOMBS: This afternoon will be fine
 8
 9
    for the Defense, Your Honor.
                THE COURT: All right. Government?
10
11
                MR. FEIN: That would be fine, ma'am.
12
    can, at lunchtime, start working on the stip.
13
                THE COURT: Once again, counsel, and I met
    in a brief RCM 802 conference before we started today
14
15
    to discuss logistics and other issues and arising cases
    and I advised counsel that, in finalizing my ruling
16
17
    with respect to the Defense motion for appropriate
18
    relief under RCM 1001B4, but for the way ahead, I'm
19
    going to read that portion of the ruling now because it
20
    is germane as we proceed.
21
                "Basically, conclusions of law procedures
```

1	forward. The court cannot determine if government
2	proffered evidence as admissible aggravation under RCM
3	1001B4 unless the court knows what the evidence is. If
4	this were a trial before members, the court would
5	address these issues by holding an Article 39 session
6	outside the presence of the members with each witness.
7	The court would hear the testimony,
8	argument from counsel and rule on what, if any, of the
9	testimony was admissible as aggravating evidence under
10	RCM 1001B4.
11	Since this case is a judge alone trial,
12	there are no Article 39A sessions during the trial.
13	The court sits in its interlocutory capacity to
14	evaluate what evidence should be introduced and in its
15	sentence imposing authority, when considering only
16	appropriately admitted evidence for its proper purpose.
17	2: The following procedure will be
18	followed for all remaining government witnesses for
19	whom the government intends to qualify as an expert.
20	A: The government will begin by
21	identifying the agenc of the compating for which the

```
government seeks to qualify the witness followed by the
 1
 2
    ultimate opinion the government seeks from the expert.
 3
                    Defense may object and voir dire the
    witness after the government lays the foundation for
 4
    the witness.
 5
 6
                    The government may lay for the
 7
    foundation for the expert's opinion to include any
    admissible evidence in accordance with MRA 703. The
 8
 9
    government will not introduce any hearsay or other
    facts or data that is not admissible evidence in
10
11
    support of the expert opinion.
12
                    The Defense may object during the scope
13
    of the witness's testimony and articulate the reasons
14
    for the objection.
                    The court will listen to the evidence
15
                E:
16
    in its interlocutory capacity. The court will
17
    summarily rule on clearly inadmissible testimony.
18
    After the witness has testified, the Defense will
```

identify for the court the areas of the testimony the

Defense finds objectionable and why. There may be a

need for a classified supplement.

19

20

```
The government will provide its
 1
                F:
 2
    position to the court regarding each Defense objection.
 3
                    The court will examine the testimony
    and rule on each objection lodged by the Defense. When
 4
    acting in its sentencing imposing rule, the court will
 5
    not consider any testimony or evidence ruled to be
 6
    inadmissible aggravation evidence.
 7
                    Unless either party wishes to rely on
 8
                H:
 9
    additional legal authority not briefed in the filings
10
    for this motion, the list and response need state only
11
    the objections and the reason the testimony or evidence
    should or not should be admitted."
12
13
                Does either side have any question about
14
    that procedure?
15
                MR. COOMBS: No, Your Honor.
16
                MR. FEIN: No, ma'am.
17
                THE COURT: Is there anything else we need
18
    to address before we call the witness?
19
                MR. FEIN: No, ma'am. Ma'am, the United
    States calls Under Secretary of State For Management,
20
21
    Patrick Kennedy.
```

```
Please take the stand and face me.
 1
 2
    Whereupon,
 3
                         PATRICK KENNEDY,
    called as a witness, having been first duly sworn to tell
 4
    the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,
 5
    was examined and testified as follows:
 6
                EXAMINATION BY MR. FEIN:
 7
                Thank you, sir. Please be seated.
 8
          Q
 9
          Α
                (Witness complied.)
10
                 Sir, you are the Under Secretary of State
11
    For Management, Patrick Kennedy?
12
          Α
                Yes, sir.
13
                And, sir, what does your current position
14
    entail as the Under Secretary of management?
15
          Α
                 I am responsible for the operational aspect
16
    of the State Department, telecommunications,
17
    information technology, records, finance, budget,
18
    security, medical, personnel and logistics.
19
                And, sir, how long have you been in the
    current position -- in your current position?
20
21
          Α
                 I've been in the position since November of
```

```
1
    2007.
 2
                 And, sir, you are here today to discuss
 3
    your expertise in the management and operations of the
 4
    Department of State?
 5
                Correct, Major.
          Α
 6
                And, sir, you are also here to discuss your
 7
    expertise in the use of diplomatic reporting by U.S.
    policy makers?
 8
 9
          Α
                Correct.
10
                 Sir, given that expertise, are you also
    here today to give your opinion on the impact of PFC
11
    Manning's criminal conduct on the management and
12
13
    operations of the Department of State?
14
          Α
                Correct.
15
                And also the impact of Private First Class
    Manning's criminal conduct on the diplomatic reporting
16
17
    use by U.S. policymakers?
18
          Α
                Correct.
19
                Thank you, sir.
20
                 Sir, before we continue, if either party or
21
    the court asks you a question that requires a
```

classified answer, please notify the court. There's no

1

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

of State John Negroponte.

- 2 expectation here in this court-martial that that 3 classified information be discussed in the open. Α Thank you. Sir, how does one become the Under 5 6 Secretary of State For Management? That is a presidential appointment. I have 7 been a foreign service officer for 40 years and I was 8 9 probably at the point -- in 2007, I think, I was the 10 senior career management officer in the State 11 Department and I was recommended to the then Secretary 12 of State, Secretary Rice, by the then deputy Secretary
 - Q Sir, where does your current position fall within, for instance, an organizational chart within the Department of State?
 - A You have the Secretary of State, you have two deputy Secretaries of State and then you have six under Secretaries of State. So it's, in effect, the third operational tier in the State Department.
 - Q Sir, are you a member of the Senior Foreign

```
1
    Service?
 2
          Α
                 I am.
 3
          0
                And how many years have you been a member
 4
    of the Foreign Service?
                 I've been a member of the Foreign Service
 5
    since 1973. So a little over 40 years.
 6
 7
          0
                And what is your rank, sir, in the Foreign
    Service?
 8
                 The rank is called career minister. It is
 9
          Α
    the equivalent of the Senior Executive Service and in
10
    military parlance it would be the protocol equivalent
11
12
    of a three-star general.
13
                 Sir, in your current position, do you have
    any specific delegations as it pertains to executive
14
15
    order 13526 and its preceding orders?
                 I am the responsible official for
16
17
    classification for the department.
18
          0
                And where does that authority -- your
    specific as the senior agency official derive from?
19
20
                 It derives from a delegation of authority
          Α
21
    from the Secretary of State.
```

```
Sir, does that include having essentially,
 1
 2
    as we would call it, commanding control over the
 3
    different information systems and information
    management systems?
 4
 5
          Α
                Yes.
 6
          0
                That also involves classified information,
 7
    sir?
 8
          Α
                Yes.
                MR. FEIN: Your Honor, before going through
 9
10
    Under Secretary of State Kennedy's entire background,
    the United States offers Under Secretary of State For
11
12
    Management Patrick Kennedy as an expert in the field of
13
    management and operations in the Department of State
14
    and expert in the use of diplomatic reporting by U.S.
15
    policymakers.
                MR. COOMBS: No objection, Your Honor.
16
17
                THE COURT: Okay.
18
                MR. FEIN: One moment, please.
19
                THE COURT: Does that truncate the
20
    foundation?
21
                MR. FEIN: It will be truncated, ma'am.
```

```
1
    BY MR. FEIN:
 2
                Sir, rather than going through your almost
 3
    41 years of experience in the Department of State, I'd
    like to ask you a few questions about key jobs you've
 4
 5
    held at the department.
                Sir, when did you first become -- when did
 6
 7
    you first assume a job within the assistant secretary
    or the secretary's office level?
 8
 9
          Α
                I was a -- became the Assistant Secretary
    of State For Administration in 1993 and served in that
10
    position until 2001.
11
12
                And what were your general
13
    responsibilities, sir, as the Assistant Secretary of
    State For Administration?
14
15
          Α
                It included oversight of information
16
    technology, classifications and records management,
17
    oversees buildings operations, logistics.
18
          0
                And, sir, after being the Assistant
19
    Secretary of State For Administration, what position
20
    did you hold?
21
          Α
                I then became one of the U.S.
```

representatives to the United Nations and served in 1 2 that position from 2001 to 2005. 3 0 And during that time, sir, did you overseas 4 details or other duties? Twice. Once in 2003 and once in 2004 for 5 six and a half months and three and a half months 6 7 respectively I was detailed to Iraq first as the chief of staff for the Coalitional Provisional Authority and 8 9 the then second time in 2004 as the chief of staff for 10 the transition unit, the transition from CPA and 11 Defense to an American embassy. 12 Sir, have you ever been detailed as a 13 Department of State senior foreign service officer to the Office of Director of National Intelligence? 14 15 Α Yes. 16 Q In what capacity, sir? 17 From 2005 to 2007, I was the deputy 18 director of National Intelligence For Management. 19 And why, sir, ultimately, were you selected 20 for that job at ODNI?

21

Α

Because I was a senior management officer

```
and because the to-be-named first director of national
 1
 2
    intelligence, John Negroponte, had been my supervisor
 3
    both at the United Nations -- U.S. missions with United
    Nations and in Iraq.
 4
 5
                THE COURT: I'm sorry, what was the year
 6
    that that occurred?
 7
                THE WITNESS:
                               2005 to 2007.
                THE COURT: Thank you.
 8
 9
    BY MR. FEIN:
10
          Q
                Sir, can you generally describe to the
11
    court your responsibilities as a deputy director of
12
    National Intelligence For Management?
13
                I essentially had two responsibilities, the
    office of the Director of National Intelligence was
14
15
    set -- was just being set up. So someone had to set up
16
    the personnel system, the financial systems, the IT and
17
    bring in the positions that the Intelligence Reform and
18
    Terrorism Prevention Act required to be merged into the
19
    Office of the Director of National Intelligence and
```

20

21

then set up processes and make sure that the office was

established and running and then, additionally, oversee

- the logistics, the finance, the information management,
 the personnel systems of the ODNI.

 O Sir, after May of 2007, what job did you
 - Q Sir, after May of 2007, what job did you move back when you returned to the department?
 - A When I returned to the department, I was briefly the director of Management Policy Rightsizing and Innovation for the department for several months until I was nominated to be Under Secretary of State For Management.
 - Q And what were your general responsibilities, sir, within the office of Management Policy, Rightsizing and Innovation?
 - A The office is essentially a senior level staff arm, a mini think tank that oversees the development of management policies, works with other U.S. Government agencies on the correct numbers and staffing of American embassies' consulates and other offices throughout the world and then heads a unit that works within the department to look for innovative ways to improve all aspects of management and operations.
- 21 Q Thank you, sir.

Т	Sir, have you ever taught in the field of
2	management and operations of the department?
3	A Not formally. The State Department has the
4	national foreign affairs training center, the Foreign
5	Service Institute, and I have been an adjunct faculty
6	there which simply means you give lectures on subject
7	matter. Mine was on logistics and that was back in the
8	1990s and I give lectures there on a regular basis to
9	either in-service or newly appointment classes.
10	Q Sir, the ones the lecture you give today
11	and in recent time, what was the general subject areas?
12	A The general subject is the overall
13	management and operations of the State Department.
14	Q Sir, have you also or have you testified in
15	the Field of Information Management within the
16	Department of State?
17	A Yes, both when I was assistant Secretary of
18	State for administration and now in my position as
19	Under Secretary For Management I testify regularly
20	before the Congress in either formal sessions in open
21	and closed briefings and among the subjects that I

```
cover, since it is within my responsibility, is
 1
 2
    information management.
 3
          0
                Sir, using the term information management,
    what does that mean, sir?
 4
                Information management has really several
 5
 6
    parts to it. It is the management of the information
    itself, which is the records management, the
 7
    classifications of it and then also computer systems
 8
 9
    operations and, lastly, long haul technology.
10
          Q
                Sir, have you ever had personal experience
11
    in your career with information management operations?
12
                As a management officer both in Africa when
13
    I served there in the 1970s and in Cairo where I was
14
    chief of administration, chief of management at the
15
    American embassy in Cairo, the information management
16
    section within the embassy reported directly to me.
17
                Sir, can you please describe for the
18
    court -- you've used the term, I think, reporting --
19
    what reporting means?
20
                It is the State Department's -- one of the
          Α
21
    State Department's major responsibilities in the
```

national security arena is to have officers who are 1 2 expert in political reporting, economic reporting, 3 public diplomacy as well as counselor and 4 administration assigned to American embassies, 5 consulates and other missions around the world whose 6 duties are to engage with foreign government officials and foreign non-officials, NGOs, business community, 7 et cetera and to prepare reports and then append 8 9 analysis to them to advise Washington on trends, 10 circumstances and events in foreign nations so that 11 information can then serve Washington policymakers in 12 developing the best strategy for national security. 13 Sir, have you, in your career, been a 14 consumer State Department Reporting? 15 Α I have been ever since I was in -- I would 16 say I was in a supervisory position which was probably 17 starting in 1985 when I became the executive director 18 and then deputy executive secretary in the Department 19 of Secretary which is the office that directly supports 20 the Secretary of State.

21

Sir, during your career, have you also had

2 Department of State reporting? 3 Α Absolutely, both as a senior management 4 official I see that the actions that department 5 officials take on a worldwide basis across a full range 6 of issues is impacted heavily by the reporting and analysis that is provided them -- the information that 7 is provided them by our offices in the field and also 8 9 by our personnel in Washington who engage with foreign 10 delegations, with foreign embassies and others as well. 11 Sir, can you briefly describe for the court 12 the different types of positions you've held where 13 you've experienced U.S. policymakers use Department of 14 State reporting? 15 Α Certainly. In my current position as Under 16 Secretary For State For Management, it is my 17 responsibility to determine where the resources of the 18 State Department -- the financial and human resources

are going to be applied, where we might need to

construct new facilities, where new posts might be

open, what security steps may or may not have to be

experience how U.S. government policymakers used

1

19

20

taken to protect our personnel, where the economic 1 2 trends may be going overseas which would impact foreign 3 exchange rates. It would have an impact on how the 4 budget office of the State Department prepares its 5 budget or how our financial operations work and, in all of those activities, the reporting and analysis 6 submitted by our posts overseas inform us of where we 7 may need to increase resources, where we might need to 8 9 reduce resources, how we budget and how we protect. 10 Q Sir, have you ever been required or have 11 you ever represented Department of State on official matters within the U.S. Government? 12 13 I regularly engage in inter-agencies' 14 activities up and to representing the State Department 15 on the deputy's committee of the national security staff. 16 17 Sir, now I'd like to focus this next 18 portion of your testimony on the actual -- on the 19 department's first response to the WikiLeaks 20 disclosures.

21

Sir, do compromises in classified State

```
Department information, does that fall within your
 1
 2
    scope of responsibility?
 3
          Α
                It does.
                And were you made aware, sir, of the
 4
 5
    compromise of the Reykjavik cable in back in March of
    2010?
 6
 7
          Α
                I was.
                And did the department take any actions,
 8
    investigate or response to the compromise of that
10
    reported cable?
                Our diplomatic security service, which is
11
12
    the security arm of the State Department, worked with
13
    other elements of the United States government to
    determine what the source of that leak might have been.
14
15
          Q
                Sir, in the summer of 2010 when the
    Department of Defense information started to publicly
16
17
    released, did you take any steps within the Department
18
    of State in response to that disclosure?
19
                      We had a liaison officer assigned to
          Α
    the task force that was under the direction of
20
    Brigadier General Carr. We also assembled a database
21
```

that was posted to the State Department's Intranet 1 2 classified website of all of the cables we thought 3 might be incorporated in such a leak and then we 4 advised our embassy's counselors and other posts around the world to go to this Intranet website and to review 5 the cables that they had written because it was 6 7 organized by source and also advised the departmental bureaus, the departmental operating units that would 8 9 also have been the sources of cables outbound from the 10 State Department to review material that they would 11 have generated. 12 So, sir, you mentioned Department of State cables. We'll gel to that in a moment, but going back 13 14 to the Department of Defense information, why did the 15 State Department dedicate any resources to the original DOD effort with the DOD information? 16 17 Because there was reason to believe that 18 summary material from State Department diplomatic 19 reporting and analysis cables was incorporated into

Q Hold on, please, sir.

some of the DOD material.

20

1	(Pause.)
2	Sir, what point in the summer of 2010 did
3	you become the senior State Department official for all
4	matters of WikiLeaks?
5	A After briefing the Secretary of State and
6	my senior colleagues on the information that we were
7	receiving, I was designated to lead the departmental
8	efforts in this regard.
9	Q And why, sir prior to the Thanksgiving
LO	timeframe, why was it necessary to be briefing even the
L1	secretary on the ongoing Department of Defense
L 2	compromises of information?
L3	A Because there was, I said, reason to
L 4	believe and then evidence that certain State Department
L5	materials, certain summaries of State Department
L6	reporting and analysis was contained in the in that
L7	Department of Defense material and then simply in order
L8	to get prepared should other State Department material
L9	be at risk.
20	Q So, sir, in the time between summer of 2010
21	and before Thanksgiving of 2010, were you aware of any

additional Department of State classified information
that could have potentially been compromised to
WikiLeaks?

- A There was -- we were provided with information from the Department of Defense that indicated that their review of material indicated that there could be a large quantity of State Department material, potentially up to 250,000 reporting cables.
- Q Sir, at that point, the time between summer of 2010 and before Thanksgiving of 2010, what steps did you take for the department in respect to the purported NCD cable compromise?
- A What we did was assemble a file, a searchable file on the State Department's classified Intranet, our internal classified system and then advised all embassadors and deputy chiefs of mission, our number two officer at an embassy, to -- of the location of this file, so to speak, on our website and ask them to acquaint themselves with this material and to read through it and be prepared to analyze what the potentially deleterious impacts were and, at the same

time, addressing the same instruction to all assistant secretaries and office directors within the State Department whose bureaus or offices might also be generating the outgoing material that was contained -- that had generated the outgoing material that was in that file.

- Q So, sir, why, at this time, prior to
 Thanksgiving of 2010 was, the direction simply to
 acquaint themselves with the purported cables?
- A I think there were two reasons. The first is that the State Department is a rather small organization with over 280 posts around the world, wide responsibilities and to divert resources, additional resources, large resources to any further review when it was not yet absolutely clear that those -- that the State Department material was going to be released would have been a version waste of very, very scarce human and other resources and, secondly, obviously we would not wish to engage with any of the other nations involved in advance. It would have been premature to engage with another nation about what might or might

not be contained in a leak or a purported leak without 1 2 being absolutely sure. That would have been premature, 3 if not stupid. So, sir, what actions did the department Q take around Thanksgiving of 2010 upon learning that the 5 6 public release of the purported cables was imminent? The department notified all posts of this 7 and asked them to reacquaint themselves with all of 8 9 this material, to carefully analyze what might be 10 leaked or become a purported leak and then to prepare 11 guidance for Washington on potential host 12 government/host nation reaction to that material. 13 Q Sir, did you, as the Under Secretary, have 14 to brief the Secretary of State? 15 Α Yes, I did. 16 And why, sir? Q 17 Because, obviously, this is a huge -- it's 18 a huge effort because State Department reporting and analysis is incredibly important to the national 19

20

21

security and also our reporting and analysis is based,

to a great extent, on our ability to interface, to work

with foreign government officials and other foreign nationals in the private sector of all kinds.

They have an implicit belief that there's a confidentiality and a privacy with what they would say to us and the breach of that privacy would have a significant and deleterious impact on our operations and, secondly, also, just perchance, the Secretary of State was about to embark on an overseas travel to two major conferences where she would be seeing many, many senior foreign leaders.

Q So, sir, could you please very briefly describe your specific role around that Thanksgiving timeframe with the -- as the purported cables were being released to the public?

A Certainly. I worked with the executive secretary of the department. The executive secretary, using almost a Thomas Jeffersonian term, is the chief clerk of the department, the individual who coordinates process and operations of paper flow and briefing materials within the department and the department, as a matter of course, when it is faced with a serious

```
1 crisis, sets up a task force.
```

We set up a task force. We set up a task force to review and deal with material, we set up a mitigation task force and we set up a "persons at risk" task force.

So my responsibility was to make sure, working with the executive secretary, that those processes were started and that they had the resources necessary that we had to pull from throughout the department to staff them because the department has no excess -- in fact, has no reserve or National Guard to call forward and call up in order to backstop the State Department. It has to pull people, in effect, "off the line" to deal with any crisis.

Q Sir, first, we'd like to talk about the WikiLeaks working group. For today's testimony, sir, I will not be trying -- I will not be listening to any testimony from you about the mitigation team, just the WikiLeaks working group.

So, sir, in reference to the WikiLeaks working group, when was that first created?

A The WikiLeaks working group was created around that Thanksgiving timeframe. I don't have the exact date in my head. It was composed of representatives at a senior level, the deputy assistant secretary level from every regional bureau, the Bureau of International Organization Affairs and all the functional bureaus.

A functional bureau in the State Department would be the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, the Bureau of Oceans, Environmental and Science Affairs, the Counter-terrorism Office as well as individuals from various management bureaus who are there in a supporting and advisory role and its job was to serve as a central hub.

We have a small suite behind our operations center, our 24-hour command center, the equivalent of the National Military Command Center in which task forces assemble when we're in crisis mode. People sit around the table and, as information comes in from other elements of the department or from overseas, they make sure the information is coalesced, assembled,

compared, contrasted and then briefed to senior to management along with recommendations for "next steps" that might have to be taken.

Q Sir, you mentioned the term crisis a few times.

What is a crisis situation in terms of the Department of State?

A The crisis situation of the Department of State can -- is a huge range of activities. You can have an airplane crash with many American citizens onboard. You can have a natural disaster, the Haiti earthquake. You can have something like the tsunami in Japan followed by the damage to the Aku Shima power plants, you can have a terrorist attack on the United States embassy or you can have any activity that has a deleterious impact on the State Department's operations our national security division which goes outside of the narrow framework that one bureau or office should and could handle itself. So a crisis -- a crisis task force is that.

Q Sir, why was this situation considered a

crisis?

A It was considered a crisis because the release of documents that would be purported to be U.S. State Department classified or unclassified, for that matter, in large quantities reporting an analysis would breach the trust and confidence of our interlocutors overseas.

When the State Department officers go out and are looking at the situation in the country in which they are assigned or the international organization to which they are assigned, they are looking at activities that are ongoing. They are talking to other diplomats, to members of the private sector, wherever, and they are assembling reporting on that situation and then there are pending analysis to it.

Part and an incredibly important part of that complex undertaking is to understand the opinions, the analysis, the feelings of others, i.e. those outside the State Department or the U.S. Government family and, therefore, we will have discussions with

```
host nation, meaning the country in which the embassy
 1
    is located, diplomats from third countries, individuals
 2
 3
    representing non-governmental organizations.
                We have full and frank discussions with
 4
 5
    those individuals and it is their expectation that
    those discussions will be treated as private and
 6
    confidential and not exposed to everyone because, if
 7
    that was the case, they would be reticent to provide
 8
 9
    their full and frank opinions and analysis and share
10
    them with us and then, as we're assembling our
11
    reporting analysis, feeding it back to Washington where
12
    it becomes one piece of a very large puzzle that is the
13
    national security of the United States, the diminution
14
    of the value of that reporting is that we're not
15
    getting the full and frank opinions of interlocutors
16
    expressed to us.
17
                So, sir, in reference --
18
                THE COURT: Hold on just a moment.
19
                MR. COOMBS: I'm sorry to interrupt you
            The last part of -- Under Secretary Kennedy's
20
    there.
21
    answer would be [inaudible]...
```

```
THE COURT: What time frame are you talking
 1
 2
    about with the diminution?
 3
                THE WITNESS: I'm talking about --
                THE COURT: Hold on.
 4
 5
                MR. COOMBS: The last part, Under
    Secretary's answer would be 2001.
 6
 7
                THE COURT: What timeframe are you talking
 8
    about?
 9
                THE WITNESS: I'm sorry?
                THE COURT: I understand. I got the
10
11
    objection down.
                What timeframe where you talking about with
12
    the diminution?
13
                THE WITNESS: I'm talking about the
14
    diminution after any leak of classified information,
15
    any leak of classified information that can be
16
17
    attributed to a breach of confidence results in a
18
    diminution.
19
                THE COURT: Thank you.
20
    BY MR. FEIN:
21
          Q
                You gave that answer based on the answer
```

why this was thought to be a crisis. 1 2 In your experience, sir, how many bureaus 3 are normally represented in a crisis work group? Α I would say usually in a crisis working 4 group you have a single geographic bureau because most 5 6 events take place in one geographic area and then you have the Bureau of Public Affairs because they are 7 large press inquiries. You have the Bureau of 8 9 Consulate Affairs which handles our assistants to American citizens in distress. 10 11 Overseas, you would -- could have the 12 Bureau of Diplomatic Security. You have the Bureau of 13 Administration which would be providing logistics and 14 then you could have, potentially, the Bureau of Human 15 Resources if there are large number of State Department 16 people. I would say five or six. 17 So how was the WikiLeaks working group 18 different than other crisis working groups? 19 Α It was different in that it impacted every single one of our six regional bureaus plus the Bureau 20 21 of International Organizational Affairs, plus a

2 business, ocean, environment, science, 3 counter-terrorism. In your 40 years, have you ever seen a 4 Q 5 crisis working group that encompassed so many bureaus? 6 Α Never. Q Why not, sir? 7 Because we've never had a crisis that was 8 Α so -- it's so wide ranging that affected that many

significant number of functional bureaus, economic and

1

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bureaus at one time.

- Q Can you please describe to the court the overall mission of WikiLeaks working group within the first 24 to 48 hours?
 - A The mission of WikiLeaks working group was to be in communication with the ambassador and chief of mission at our overseas post and with the assistant secretaries, deputies, assistant secretaries and office directors within the domestic offices to review the material that we believed could become compromised in such release and determine what recommendations we need to make to the secretary and what action the State

Department needed to take should that information 1 2 result in a purported leak of State Department 3 documents. Was anyone at the State Department looking 4 Q 5 at the documents that were being released in the press? 6 Α Yes. 7 Q Can you describe that process? The documents were being -- we were looking 8 Α 9 at the purported leaked documents in the press and then 10 determining what actions we needed to take in light of engaging with foreign officials, either governmental or 11 12 private either in Washington or overseas. One moment, please, sir. 13 14 (Pause.) 15 Sir, how many countries does the United States have diplomatic relations with, approximately? 16 17 I think we have a diplomatic relations with 18 170 countries. 19 Do we have embassies and posts in all of Q 20 them? We have embassies in about 160 of them. 21 Α

There are some small, smaller nations, in the 1 2 geographic sense, in mainly the island nations in the 3 Caribbean and in the Pacific where we have diplomatic 4 relations and our diplomacy carried out by an ambassador resident in another country also accredited, 5 also the United States ambassador of those actions as 6 7 well. How many geographic bureaus? 8 Q Α There are six geographic bureaus. 10 How many functional bureaus? Q 11 Α About two dozen. 12 0 Total, sir, how many of these embassies or 13 the bureaus were involved in responding to the crisis? 14 Α Every regional bureau plus the Bureau of 15 International Organizational Affairs plus probably 20 others. 16 17 What about the embassies abroad? 18 Every single embassy and our consulates as well. Any and all of those offices could have done 19 20 some element of political, economic reporting and

analysis. So one of these would have been involved if

21

they had filed reporting cables and also all of them do

1

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

security reporting.

```
2
    to some degree or another.
 3
          0
                Sir, who -- speaking about the embassies,
 4
    who at the embassies were involved in reviewing these
 5
    documents and getting back to main state?
 6
                I would say everyone at the embassy. The
 7
    ambassador, the deputy chief of admission would be
    leading the team. You have political reporting, you
 8
 9
    have economic reporting, science reporting. You could
10
    have political military affairs reporting. You could
    have press and cultural reporting. You could have
11
    consulate reporting. You could have administrative and
12
```

So every officer at that embassy or other post would have been reviewing that database I mentioned earlier which we had set up.

Q So, sir, I'm sorry. When you said everyone, you mean all the reporting officers, not literally everyone at an embassy?

A I would think also it would involve the counselor officers would be looking at it. There would

```
be also the management officer and the security officer
 1
 2
    would be looking at to see if any of that reporting,
 3
    should it be compromised, would have some kind of
    potentially deleterious effect on either the security
 4
 5
    or the operation.
 6
                So, yes, the reporting officers and
 7
    ambassador and the deputy chief submission are the
    first line, but everyone else there is supporting them.
 8
 9
          Q
                It is your understanding that each post,
    you already essentially testified, ranges in some
10
11
    sizes, some have ambassadors, some don't.
12
                How many total people oversees were
    involved in the initial response to the disclosures
13
14
    approximately, sir, overseas?
                I would say the number is in the thousands.
15
          Α
    We have about 10,000 American State Department
16
17
    personnel abroad and I would say a significant number
18
    of them would have been involved in this one way or
19
    another.
                Sir, how many -- on average, how many
20
          Q
21
    individuals are assigned to geographic bureaus?
```

A They geographically vary in size, but I would say that there are several hundred in each of the six geographic bureaus, plus another 150 of the Bureau of International Organization Affairs.

Q In your estimate, what was the total number of individuals assigned to geographic bureaus that were dedicated to supporting the WikiLeaks working group in the first few weeks after the disclosure started?

would probably have been 75 or 80 percent of the individuals only excluding those people responsible for the internal administrative processing of the bureau because if you have a large desk -- a desk is a concept, not a physical thing, a desk, the French desk, the Brazilian desk. If that desk has more than one officer on it that's because there's a large amount of material moving back and forth and, therefore, everyone had been involved. If you had a very small country there might be one officer who is handling two countries. But all of them would have been involved reviewing that potentially leaked material and then

```
determining what actions needed to be briefed out and
 1
 2
    what actions might have to be taken bilaterally,
 3
    multi-laterally.
                What about the function of bureaus?
 4
          Q
                                                      How
 5
    many people, on average, are assigned to those?
 6
                Again, probably 200.
 7
                In your estimate, sir, what was the total
    number of individuals assigned to functional bureaus
 8
 9
    that were consumed by the first few weeks of WikiLeaks
10
    working group?
11
                I would say of the 200, I'm guessing
12
    probably more like half because they are responsible,
13
    though equally important would probably have been less
    directly although some, such as the economic and
14
15
    business bureau or the counter-terrorism bureau, might
    have been up in the 75 to 80 percent range as well.
16
17
                Sir, what about the Under Secretary level?
18
    How many Under Secretaries were involved?
19
                All six Under Secretaries were involved.
          Α
20
                What about the Secretary of State? Was she
          Q
21
    presently involved in the responses?
```

She was. 1 Α 2 And why did Secretary Clinton have to be 3 personally involved in this crisis management? Α Because the Secretary of State is 4 5 responsible for the operations of the entire State 6 Department and this was a very, very serious crisis. 7 Secondly, it is the Secretary of State who is either on the telephone with or engaged in meeting 8 9 or in travels with a huge panoply of senior foreign officials as well as both governmental and 10 non-governmental. So these are individuals -- the 11 individuals she would be dealing with if they would be 12 13 reading the newspaper. Sir, why did you wait essentially at the 14 0 15 department until the release was eminent to start implementing a department-wide response? 16 17 I think there are two reasons for that. 18 First of all is that the department is always resourced 19 constrained. We put our resources to the immediate 20 activities and the -- as well as long-term planning

21

that best supports our national security mission and we

```
took, I believe, prudent preliminary steps such as
 1
 2
    assembling that Intranet database and advising our
 3
    posts overseas as well as in our office in Washington
    to prepare themselves by reviewing the material, but to
 4
    pull resources off the line to engage in this when we
 5
 6
    were not absolutely fully sure that the material would
 7
    be released. It would be a potential waste of resource
    and the second item is that if we're going to have to
 8
 9
    deal with a country that is aggrieved about material
10
    that they had read, you want to make sure that they had
11
    read it before you went to them. Otherwise, you would
    be ahead of the curve and this is one case where you do
12
13
    not want to be ahead of the curve.
14
          0
                Did you direct an impact review to capture
15
    the department's efforts that impacts from the
    compromise of the purported cables?
16
17
          Α
                I did.
18
                And when did you finalize that impact
19
    review, sir?
20
                I did not finalize that impact.
          Α
21
          Q
                Why did you not, sir?
```

I received a draft, the draft that came to 1 me as a senior official in August of 2011 and as we 2 3 were reviewing it, we also very shortly thereafter 4 became aware that there was going to be a second major traunch of purported documents moving into the press 5 6 and it became evident from looking at that and looking 7 at the material that what I had in my hand was a snapshot based upon earlier material which was 8 9 certainly not comprehensive. When you took the 10 material that was published, purported State Department documents and then added to it the second major traunch 11 12 that was about to be released which in that second 13 traunch was purported to contain a large number --14 larger percentage of classified material than the first 15 traunch and, therefore, what I had was a snapshot in 16 time and certainly by no means represented a full and 17 conclusive damage assessment. 18 0 Sir, would a completed assessment have 19 mitigated any potential damage? 20 Α No. Why not, sir? 21 Q

```
Because assessment is simply measuring
 1
          Α
 2
    damage.
             It does not mitigate damage.
 3
          0
                Sir, from what you observed in your
    position, the Under Secretary of State For Management,
 4
 5
    has the department's ability to conduct diplomacy been
    impacted by the PFC Manning's actions?
 6
 7
          Α
                Yes.
                Has that also impacted foreign relations?
 8
          0
 9
          Α
                Yes.
10
                Sir, why is the ability to conduct
          Q
    diplomacy in the United States' national interests?
11
12
                I believe that there is a three-legged
13
    stool that protects U.S. national security. There's
14
    obviously our military, our development assistance
15
    which helps countries develop so that they do not
    become ungovernable states and potential havens for
16
17
    terrorism and the humanitarian point which is equally
18
    of value of helping people desecrated and the third leg
19
    of that stool is diplomacy and to do -- to underpin the
20
    national security you need a robust State Department
```

21

diplomatic effort which includes the ability to report

```
and analyze events that are going on across the world
 1
 2
    so that will become a piece of the puzzle, i.e.,
 3
    information that's available to national security
 4
    decision makers in Washington and we are -- if we are
    not able to engage in full and frank and private and
 5
    confidential discussions with a full range of foreign
 6
    interlocutors, we are not able to craft up the
 7
    reporting and analysis to feed to those national
 8
    security decision makers in Washington information of a
10
    quality that is diminished otherwise.
11
                MR. COOMBS: The last part 1001B4, Your
12
    Honor.
13
                THE COURT: All right. Got it.
14
    BY MR. FEIN:
15
          0
                Specifically in reference to the privacy
    and confidence in the trust of our foreign
16
17
    interlocutors have to have -- don't the -- well, do the
18
    foreign interlocutors still have to work with us even
    if they didn't have trust in us?
19
20
                Obviously, they have to work with us. When
          Α
21
    we go into a foreign embassy to deliver a demarche, a
```

request that the United States is making them to engage

1

18

19

20

21

2 in some kind of action or support for the United States 3 and some world forum, they will certainly receive our demarche and potentially work with us if this is in 4 5 their national interest and many cases it would be in their -- in our common interest to do so. But what we 6 would be lacking is a full and frank exchange of views 7 on what their thinking is, what their analysis is of a 8 9 situation that is developed. It's that exchange, 10 that's correct. That full and frank exchange that 11 allows us to craft the best analytic to Washington on 12 circumstances. 13 You describe the conversation and report 14 back to Washington? 15 Α Yes. We have a system and it has -- it's one of those sort of historical names. There are names 16 17 called cables, they're sometimes called telegrams.

called cables, they're sometimes called telegrams.

They're called cable telegrams and you see that often referred to. What happens is we have offices stationed at our posts around the world in economic reporting and analysis, culture and science, political military,

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et cetera, even the managerial report and analysis that officers at our embassies monitor situations that are ongoing in the nation to which they are assigned and for potentially adjacent nations as well. As I they are looking at that, analyze it in the context of their own expertise, these individuals who have been trained in the language and the culture of that country and they rise in the ranks from probably subsequent and repetitive tours in a country or region, these are our subject matter experts. But that's not enough. they do then is they go out and they meet and they talk with representatives of that government, of other governments who happened to be based in that situation, location of journalists educators, non-governmental organizations, the best community. They meet and discuss issues with all of those people engage in the full range discussions and then go back to the embassy and craft a cable, a telegram, a report that says, in effect, here is what is going on and then they report on the why and then depending upon the circumstances, predictions, so to speak, about what actions might be

```
taken in the future by that nation and then that report
 1
 2
    analysis feeds into the national security analysis in
 3
    Washington.
                Sir, how do you, as the Under Secretary For
 4
    Management oversee this process?
 5
 6
                I provide the physical plan overseas.
                                                        Ι
    provide the personnel, security, the medical, the
 7
    logistics and I also provide the records management in
 8
 9
    Washington and I provide the information technology
10
    transmission to speak between the posts and Washington.
11
                So those reports do reach Washington and
12
    other U.S. government agencies and also an embassy
13
    could also be reporting what we call laterally. The
14
    army in Shangri-Law does not send reports to
15
    Washington, but is sending the report to the embassy in
16
    Shangri-La which is a country which might have some
17
    interest in this meeting. Our embassy in that country
18
    has interest in that reporting.
19
          Q
                Why does the department write cables and/or
    telegrams?
20
21
          Α
                To inform the policymakers in Washington so
```

that they can develop the best national security 1 2 position for the United States. 3 Sir, who with the U.S. Government reads these cables? 4 The State Department reporting analysis 5 6 goes to -- I think probably any U.S. Government agency that has an interest in international affairs or has an 7 interest in domestic affairs that is impacted by 8 activities that go on overseas. Sir, how many cables, on average, is sent 10 Q 11 from any given embassy on any given day? 12 It can range from a half dozen at the same 13 embassies to 100 or more in a large embassy. 14 Prior to PFC Manning, was information about 15 sources included in sources? 16 Yes. Also, always is cited our 17 interlocutory. I would not refer to them as sources. 18 Sources has another context, but we refer to them just as the people we meet with. 19 20 Sir, what purpose is it -- what purpose is Q 21 served when you list individuals, the people that

diplomats meet with in general, sir?

A It's a very important element in giving context and credibility to the reporting information and report from a more senior government official might, in given circumstances, carry more weight than a report from a junior official, report of a discussion with a senior member of a significant party in a country. It conveys a certain context to Washington from a senior management of the business community and it would be very, very important potentially to our expert import bank on the overseas private investment corporation in determining their strategies to promote United States economic investments, our U.S. exports.

Q Sir, the information of Department of State reports on U.S. Government policy?

A Yes. Policymakers in Washington do not operate in a vacuum. There are obviously views from multiple government agencies. The State Department has views. The Defense Department has views. The Department of Commerce might have views. All U.S. Government agencies tend to have views on overseas that

```
impact on the United States national security. What
 1
 2
    that reporting and analysis feeds in context is it
 3
    allows policymakers to make the best decisions because
 4
    their decision making is informed from the widest
 5
    possible ambit.
                Sir, after PFC Manning compromised the
 6
 7
    cables, was there change in the type of source
    information, personal information of the people that's
 8
    drafted included in cables?
 9
10
          Α
                Some embassies have changed that. That is
    deleterious and we have -- we think we are losing
11
12
    something in that regard. Not every embassy has,
13
    however.
14
                MR. COOMBS:
                              1001B4.
15
                THE COURT: Thank you.
16
          Q
                Did you correct that change or is that --
17
          Α
                It is self-generated at various embassies.
18
          0
                Okay. Sir, why did the Department of State
    provide other agencies, as you've already testified
19
20
    about, access to the diplomatic reporting?
21
          Α
                The State Department is represented in
```

```
280-some odd posts around the word. We have the widest
 1
 2
    geographically dispersed representation of any U.S.
 3
    Government agency, period, and that means that our
 4
    personnel are doing reporting and analysis from more
 5
    locations with more personnel than any other U.S.
 6
    Government agency and, therefore, these other U.S.
 7
    Government agencies want the widest possible range of
    reporting to -- if nothing more to interleave or
 8
 9
    compare and contrast with other reporting that they may
10
    be receiving from other U.S. Government agencies.
11
                So these agencies need our reporting and
12
    analysis in order to inform their part of the national
13
    security including economic security and national
14
    security.
15
          Q
                Sir, I have a few more questions for you.
                Sir, this is just a yes or no question. Do
16
17
    you have an opinion on whether these disclosures
18
    impacted the Department of State?
19
          Α
                Yes.
20
                And, sir, how confident are you in that
          Q
21
    opinion?
```

Totally confident. 1 Α 2 Sir, what is your opinion on whether these 3 disclosures impacted the Department of State? Α These disclosures, had a chilling effect on 4 5 foreign officials, governmental and non-governmental willingness to engage in full and frank discussions 6 7 with us which is detrimental to us assisting in our responsibilities to protect the national security. 8 9 MR. COOMBS: Your Honor, 1001B4 and 10 speculation. 11 THE COURT: Go ahead. 12 Q Sir, a yes or no question. 13 Do you have an opinion on whether these 14 disclosures will continue to impact the Department of 15 State? 16 Α Yes. 17 Q Sir, how confident are you on that opinion? 18 Α Totally confident. 19 Sir, what is your opinion on whether these 20 disclosures will continue to impact the Department of State? 21

```
We have had situations in which
 1
 2
    individuals, for example --
 3
          0
                I'm sorry to interrupt you, sir. Without
    giving examples, sir, if you could, just explain why
 4
 5
    you believe these disclosures will continue to impact
    the department.
 6
 7
                Certainly. The underpinning of diplomatic
    reporting and analysis is full and frank discussion
 8
 9
    with foreign officials. I believe those foreign
10
    officials feel that in many cases that they do not have
    the ability to engage in that same level of full and
11
12
    frank conversation because of what has happened and,
13
    therefore, that is a chilling effect that will go on
14
    for some time. People have long memories.
15
                MR. COOMBS: Your Honor, again, 1001B4,
16
    speculation.
17
                Sir, a yes or no question.
18
                Do you have an opinion, sir, on whether
19
    these disclosures impacted policymakers who rely on
20
    diplomatic reporting?
21
          Α
                Yes.
```

```
Sir, how confident are you in that opinion?
 1
          Q
 2
          Α
                Totally confident.
 3
          0
                Sir, what is your opinion on whether the
 4
    disclosures impacted policymakers that relied on
 5
    diplomatic reporting?
 6
                MR. COOMBS: Your Honor, objection here,
 7
    speculation, foundation of the opinion.
                THE COURT: Foundation is one of the
 8
 9
    objections?
10
                MR. COOMBS: Yes, Your Honor.
11
                THE COURT: All right. Proceed.
    develop your foundation, should you have any additional
12
13
    foundation you want to add.
14
                MR. FEIN: One moment, please, ma'am.
15
                                               (Pause.)
                Ma'am, the United States believes that it
16
17
    has laid a proper foundation for that opinion.
18
                THE COURT: Proceed.
19
    BY MR. FEIN:
20
                Sir, to reask the question, what is your
          Q
21
    opinion on whether these disclosures impacted
```

```
policymakers that relied on diplomatic reporting?
 1
 2
                Policymakers, in order to develop the best
 3
    course of action for the U.S. national security need
 4
    the best possible reporting and analysis from the State
    Department as its contribution and absent a full and
 5
    frank discussion, which I believe has been chilled,
 6
 7
    they then do not get the best possible reporting and
    analysis that would enable them to do potentially a
 8
 9
    better job in supporting our national security.
10
                MR. FEIN: Thank you, sir.
11
                Your Honor, there are no further questions.
12
                THE COURT: Okay. You guys want a recess
13
    before you go?
14
                MR. COOMBS: Yes, Your Honor.
                                                If we
15
    could -- come back maybe 25 after.
16
                THE COURT: Ambassador Kennedy, please
17
    don't discuss your testimony or knowledge of the case
18
    with anyone other than counsel and the accused while --
19
    well, don't discuss your testimony with anybody during
20
    the recess.
21
                THE WITNESS: Yes, Your Honor.
```

```
THE COURT: I'm sorry, how long did you
 1
 2
    need?
                MR. COOMBS: Just until 25 after.
 3
 4
                THE COURT: All right. Court is in recess
    until 25 after 11:00.
 5
                THE CLERK: All rise.
 6
 7
              (There was a recess taken at 11:13 and the
    trial resumed at 11:25 a.m.)
 8
 9
                THE CLERK: All rise.
                THE COURT: Please be seated. The court is
10
    called to order. All parties present when the court
11
    last recessed are again present in court. The witness
12
    is on the witness chair.
13
14
                Proceed, Mr. Coombs.
15
                MR. COOMBS: Thank you, Your Honor.
                EXAMINATION BY MR. COOMBS:
16
                Under Secretary Kennedy, I remind you
17
18
    you're still under oath.
19
                Yes, sir.
          Α
20
                Okay. I want to start off by asking you a
          Q
    few questions about the use of cables with the
21
```

```
Department of State.
 1
 2
          Α
                 Okay.
 3
          0
                 The State Department has historically
 4
    accomplished the basic communication between Washington
 5
    and its overseas posts through the use of diplomatic
    cables?
 6
 7
          Α
                 Yes.
                 And you would agree that United States
 8
          Q
 9
    policy formulation is done at the State Department in
10
    Washington and across inter-agencies?
                 With input from the diplomatic reporting as
11
    well as other input from other agencies.
12
13
          Q
                 Correct, but the actual formulation of the
14
    policy is done here in Washington with inter-agencies,
15
    correct?
                 With input from diplomatic reporting.
16
          Α
17
                 All right, and the diplomatic cables that
18
    you receive the input, that's not policy, though?
19
                 (Pause.)
          Α
20
                 It's not a statement of policy, is it?
          Q
21
          Α
                 No.
```

And diplomatic cables are not always 1 Q 2 accurate? 3 Α Diplomatic cables report the facts as they 4 are then known to the individuals who are doing 5 reporting. 6 My question is diplomatic cables are not 7 always accurate? 8 I'm afraid I can't give you a yes or no Α answer to that. To say yes, they're not always 9 10 accurate implies that there is a deliberate inaccuracy in the reporting when the report is filed. Facts on 11 12 the ground can change and so an accurate reporting in 13 2002 may no longer be the case in 2003 but that, in my opinion, does not make the report of 2002 inaccurate, 14 it just means the situation has been overtaken by 15 events between 2002 and 2003. 16 17 Let me then -- I think based upon what you 18 answered there, I'll take out the deliberate aspect 19 because that's not my question. So not a deliberate 20 inaccuracy within a diplomatic cable, but diplomatic 21 cables are not always accurate.

```
So if somebody reports something believed
 1
 2
    to be true and immediately would find out is not true;
 3
    is that correct?
                 That is possible, yes.
          Α
                Now, a diplomatic cable is a report of
 5
          0
    information or facts from a particular embassador or
 6
 7
    post, correct?
 8
          Α
                 It's a report from the post, yes.
 9
          0
                 And that is -- that cable is the view from
10
    that particular post of the facts?
11
          Α
                 Yes.
                 So that's the view from their vantage
12
13
    point, what they believe might be the facts on the
    ground where they're reporting from?
14
15
          Α
                 Yes.
                 And each diplomatic cable that comes in
16
17
    will have the ambassador's name on the bottom?
18
          Α
                 That is a convention, yes.
19
                 And because it's a convention doesn't many
20
    that the ambassador actually drafted that cable, right?
                 That is correct.
21
          Α
```

If it dealt with routine administrative 1 2 matters, the ambassador might not have even reviewed 3 the cable? Α 4 Correct. And depending upon the size of the embassy 5 6 or post and the number of cases going out, an 7 ambassador might not even review a cable that has his or her name on it? 8 9 Α Well, the ambassador's name is on every 10 cable that goes out if he or she is present at the 11 post. But, yes, an ambassador does not physically 12 necessarily read every cable that goes out of the post 13 even though it bears his or her signature. 14 0 And the SIPDIS cables, those were 15 addressed -- when they the ambassador's name on the 16 bottom, they were addressed to the Secretary of State, 17 correct? 18 All cables inbound from Washington as well all cables outbound from Washington say either to or 19 20 from sec state. 21 Q And, obviously, that doesn't mean that the

Secretary of State reads all of these cables? 1 2 That is correct. 3 0 And as you just said, the outbound cables 4 also have the Secretary of State's name on them? 5 Α Correct. And that clearly does not mean that the 6 7 Secretary of State wrote those cables, correct? 8 Α Correct. 9 0 Read the cable? 10 Α All, not necessarily. Or even was aware that the cable went out? 11 0 12 Α Depending upon the subject matter, yes. 13 0 And as you had earlier testified, that's just kind of a coming convention that's a holdover of, 14 15 I guess, years gone by? 16 It's a convention, yes. 17 Now, the Net Centric diplomacy database, 18 that was available to anyone who has SIPRNET access at 19 one point, correct? 20 Α Correct. 21 Q And those cables that were shared on the

2 distribution caption of SIPDIS? 3 Α Correct. And within the State Department, the access 4 5 to and control over the cables and who it's distributed 6 to is controlled by the use of tags which I'm not going to really talk about, but then also captions, correct? 7 And a third element. It's called AMats and Α 8 9 I'm not sure what the acronym stands for, but it is, in 10 effect, an artificial intelligence that reads the 11 cables and depending upon keywords that it finds in the 12 message. So that would be captions, tags and AMats 13 would be formulate the distribution pattern. 14 0 And SIPDIS would be an example of one of

NCD database, they were all captioned with the

16 A Yes.

15

17

18

19

20

21

1

Q And with regards to the Department of
State, the advice and training that was put out to the
various embassies and posts was that SIPDIS caption
meant that it was appropriate to share with our
inter-agency partners; is that correct?

the distribution captions that you would use?

```
1
          Α
                Yes.
 2
                Now, there are, obviously, other more
 3
    sensitive captions that can be used for cables?
          Α
                 There are lots of captions available for
 4
 5
         Some of them are directional, some of them are
    restrictive, yes.
 6
                And some of the captions that would
 7
          Q
    restrict the audience, narrow the audience who could
 8
    actually review them I'm just going to name a few and
    tell me if you're aware of these or are familiar with
10
11
    them. Statedisk or Statdisk?
12
          Α
                 Statdisk, yes.
13
          Q
                NODIS?
14
          Α
                Yes.
15
          Q
                XDIS?
16
          Α
                Yes.
17
          Q
                Roger?
18
          Α
                Yes.
19
                Terror (phonetic)?
          Q
20
          Α
                Yes.
                Okay. Now, I'm showing you what's been
21
          Q
```

marked as Defense Charlie-Charlie-Charlie for 1 2 identification. It is a portion of the Foreign Affairs 3 handbook. Are you familiar with the Foreign Affairs 4 handbook? 5 6 Α Yes. 7 And I hand the witness Charlie-Charlie for identification or Charlie-Charlie-Charlie. 8 9 Do you recognize that? 10 Α I recognize the format and I'm going to 11 assume that you've given me an accurate copy. And the Foreign Affairs handbook has 12 13 several sections to it, correct? 14 There are multiple volumes of the Foreign Α 15 Affairs handbook. And the volume or the section that you have 16 17 in front of you, does that deal with just captions, 18 what captions mean? 19 Chapter -- volume V deals with information Α 20 technology and telecommunications and the subsection 21 you have is labeled captions and handling instructions,

```
1
    yes.
 2
                If you would, please, Under Secretary, just
 3
    kind of thumb through that for a moment and tell me
 4
    whether or not that kind discusses each of the possible
 5
    captions that you can have for a cable?
                (Pause.) It seems to -- it has lots of
 6
          Α
 7
    captions that I recognize.
                Underneath each of those captions it also
 8
          0
    gives comprehensive instructions about when you would
10
    use that caption; is that correct?
11
          Α
                Yes.
                MR. COOMBS: I'm retrieving from the
12
    witness Defense Exhibit Charlie-Charlie-Charlie for
13
    identification and offering into evidence as Defense
14
    Exhibit Charlie-Charlie-Charlie.
15
                THE COURT: Any objection?
16
17
                MR. FEIN: Lack of foundation, Your Honor.
18
                THE COURT: What's missing?
19
                MR. FEIN: Well, ma'am, Under Secretary
20
    Kennedy didn't specifically remember that being -- that
21
    being the actual Foreign Affairs handbook, where it
```

```
came from. He kept saying it appears to be this.
 1
 2
                THE COURT: Why don't we do this. I'm not
 3
    going to initial off on it now. What I will do is
 4
    provisionally admit it. If you can find something that
    can show me that it's an accurate version of the
 5
    Foreign Affairs I will admit it.
 6
 7
                MR. COOMBS: Okay, your Honor.
                THE COURT: Consider it provisionally
 8
 9
    admitted for now.
10
                MR. COOMBS: Just to lay the foundation,
    having Defense Exhibit Charlie-Charlie-Charlie for
11
12
    identification to the witness, is there anything on the
13
    very top of that or bottom of that document that would
14
    indicate to you that this is from the Department of
15
    State.
                THE WITNESS: As I said earlier, the
16
17
    formatting and everything looks like pages from the
18
    Foreign Affairs handbook. I just...
19
                THE COURT: Do you have any reason to
    question its accuracy?
20
21
                THE WITNESS: No, but, as I said, depending
```

```
upon the questions that follow, I cannot, Your Honor,
 1
 2
    state it with a hundred percent certainty that this is
 3
    an accurate copy of this chapter of five -- manual five
 4
    Foreign Affairs handbook.
                I don't know that it's not, but I don't
 5
 6
    know that is. So I'm not willing to certify that
    this -- that I was presented as the Under Secretary For
 7
    Management, I would give it to staff and say if I was
 8
 9
    submitting this to a court of law, I would go have it
10
    validated that this copy that was being submitted was
11
    going in was absolutely correct. I have no reason not
12
    to believe it is, Your Honor, but I just don't have any
13
    reason to know it is either.
14
                THE COURT: I understand that. May I see
    it for just a moment?
15
16
                THE WITNESS: Certainly.
17
                THE COURT: Here's what we're going to do.
18
    I'm going to admit. Government, if you think there's
19
    something that's not accurate about this document,
20
    you're certainly free to advise the court and the court
21
    will take action accordingly.
```

```
MR. FEIN: Yes, ma'am.
 1
 2
                THE COURT: Defense Exhibit
    Charlie-Charlie for identification is admitted.
 3
 4
    BY MR. COOMBS:
                Ambassador Kennedy, I'm going to ask you a
 5
          Q
 6
    few questions about various caption -- excuse me, Under
    Secretary Kennedy, I'm going to ask you a few questions
 7
    about various captions. I wanted you to have the
 8
 9
    benefit of that if you needed to look at something to
10
    refresh your memory.
11
          Α
                Certainly.
12
          0
                Otherwise, your memory is perfectly fine.
13
                With regards to status, status is used
    basically to preclude initial distribution to other
14
15
    federal agencies; is that correct?
                That's correct.
16
          Α
17
                Status is basically for the internal
18
    deliberative process for the State Department?
19
          Α
                No, I think it goes beyond that. It could
    be that, it can be other things. It is simply a
20
21
    caption to ensure that the distribution remains State
```

Department only. It could be deliberate, it could be administrative, it could be any purpose in which the originator wishes this material to remain only within the State Department. And basically by the use of that caption 0 that is when it, for whatever reason, it would be either premature or just simply not the type of information that you would want to share with interagency parters? Again, there could be a huge range of Α The salient item is that the originator says that he or she wishes this to be handled only within State Department distribution channels and no one else. 0 Now, with regards to NODIS, that caption

18 A Correct.

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

19

20

Q And not what fact, but can you provide us with kind of an example of what would be a NODIS?

identifies messages of the highest sensitivity, but

and chiefs of mission; is that correct?

basically between the president, the Secretary of State

21 A I would say if an ambassador in a country

wished to provide information of the highest 1 2 sensitivity, let us say on ongoing negotiations about 3 conflict rationing between Xanadu and Shangri-La and, 4 because of the nature of the information, we were restricting that to only certain -- a very, very 5 limited number of people. 6 And in with regards to the XDIS caption, 7 that is used for highly sensitive traffic between the 8 9 White House, the secretary, the deputy secretary and the Under Secretaries of State? 10 It has -- it has a variety -- a wide 11 12 variety of uses, but it is very close to what you said. 13 Q And can you provide us with just kind of a 14 general example, again, of what type of cable might be 15 an XDIS cable? 16 Again, it depends upon the circumstances 17 and I would say probably you would find some arms 18 control negotiations material potentially in that 19 channel. 20 And then with regards to Roger, that's for Q 21 communications between the assistant secretary for

```
intelligence and research, I&R, and the chiefs of
 1
 2
    mission; is that correct?
 3
          Α
                That is an administrative channel. That is
    not a reporting channel.
 4
                With a cable, though, that's labeled as a
 5
          0
 6
    Roger, can you give us an example of what type of
    cable?
 7
                No, not in this session.
 8
          Α
 9
          Q
                Okay. And terror, that's a caption used
10
    for messages related to information about terrorism; is
11
    that correct?
                That is the channel used to call attention
12
          Α
    to terrorist reporting, yes.
13
14
          0
                And these are messages, my understanding,
15
    that can only be distributed to members of the
    emergency action committee; is that correct?
16
17
                I would have to refresh my memory on that.
18
                Are you -- again, in a very general
19
    unclassified format, can you give an example of what a
20
    terror type cable might be?
21
                A terror cable would be a report of a
```

```
potential terrorist attack.
```

- Q Now, the SIPDIS caption, as we said, that is a caption that is only used if it can be shared with the interagency partners?
- 5 A No.

- 6 Q Okay. Can you go ahead and enlighten me?
 - A The State Department shares large numbers of cables with the interagency partners and this -- to answer the question, Your Honor, I have to go back to a little history, if I might.
- 11 THE COURT: That's fine.
 - Department mid 2000 or so and said that because of the importance of State Department reporting to it and because of the size of the defense department, the current kind of push system in which the State Department would dispatch cables to sec def, Secretary of Defense, OSD, JCS, joint chiefs of staff, Fort Richardson did not necessarily -- because of the size of DOD, they would not necessarily get to potentially the right elements within the Department of Defense

and, therefore, ask that a database be set up in which 1 2 the State Department would push reporting to that 3 database and then the DOD would be able to pull information from that database based upon the needs of 4 5 the individual puller. Now, with regards to the Defense Exhibit 6 7 Charlie-Charlie, it lays out guidance for when you would use the SIPDIS caption, correct? 8 9 Α There are instructions there, yes. 10 And, again, those instructions indicate for 11 information messages deemed appropriate for release to 12 the U.S. Government interagency community? 13 Α Correct. 14 And a SIPDIS caption message is never to be 15 combined with more restrictive captions such as NODIS, XDIS, Roger or terror? 16 17 Α Correct. 18 If a message carries conflicting captions, 19 the more restrictive caption is going to government? 20 Correct. Α 21 Q So a SIPDIS caption, for instance, if it

```
does have more restrictive caption with it, it's not
 1
 2
    going to go into the Net Centric diplomacy database?
                Correct.
 3
          Α
                Additionally, a SIPDIS caption is not
 4
 5
    supposed to be used with Privacy Act information?
 6
          Α
                 That is correct.
                 So your meta channels, your HR channels, DS
 7
    channels, DSX channel, that stuff will not be in a
 8
 9
    SIPDIS cable?
10
                That is correct.
          Α
                Again, if you had a SIPDIS cable that had
11
12
    this type of information, again, it would not be loaded
13
    into the Net Centric diplomacy database?
14
          Α
                Yes. Well, if it had the other caption on
15
    it --
16
                Correct.
          Q
17
                 -- it would cause it -- if the machine is
18
    working correctly to what's called spill, meaning spill
    to manual management upon arrival at its destination.
19
20
                And drafting officers were directed,
          Q
21
    basically, to use the SIPDIS caption only for those
```

messages that fit the requirements of SIPDIS? 1 2 Α Correct. 3 0 And so they understood that these were 4 messages that were designed to be shared with 5 interagency partners? 6 Α Correct. 7 And during the period from 2004 to 2010, Q State Department had posted some 250,000 or so cables 8 9 to the Net Centric diplomacy database? 10 Α Correct. 11 During that same period of time, the State 12 Department disseminated approximately 2.4 million 13 cables through other systems to our other 65 other 14 government agencies? 15 Α I believe, yes. I recall that figure. would want to verify it. It's right within one or two 16 17 percent either way. 18 0 So I believe you testified at Congress that basically ten times as many cables that were given 19 20 to -- well, actually, the amount of cables given to the 21 Net Centric diplomacy database during that same time

```
period, ten times that many cables were pushed out to
 1
 2
    our interagency partners through other means?
 3
          Α
                Correct.
                So, obviously, the majority of the cables
 4
    that were being shared with interagency partners were
 5
    not SIPDIS cables?
 6
 7
          Α
                That is correct.
                So the policy formulation and whatnot, that
 8
    wasn't entirely relied upon by SIPDIS cables, there
 9
10
    were other cables going out for policy and formulation?
11
          Α
                That is correct.
12
                Do you know -- and you might not and that's
13
    fine if you don't -- what percentage of Department of
14
    State cables were labeled as SIPDIS cables on any given
15
    year?
16
                No, I don't. I don't have that fact at
17
    hand.
18
                Was it, in a general standpoint, was it a
    small percentage of the overall cables or a large
19
20
    percentage of the overall cables that were labeled
21
    SIPDIS or could you guess?
```

```
It would be hard to guess because you would
 1
 2
    first have to factor out all the administrative or
 3
    logistic cables that are sent and then you SIPDIS as a
    percentage of other reporting cables and -- I'm sorry,
 4
    I don't have that number available to me.
 5
                 That's fine.
 6
          0
 7
                Now, my understanding is that when it
    received the SIPDIS caption, those types of cables were
 8
 9
    automatically by the, basically, automated process put
10
    into the Net Centric diplomacy database?
11
          Α
                 That's correct.
12
                 There wasn't a person that was looking at
13
    the cable first and then saying, yeah, that should go
    into the Net Centric diplomacy database?
14
15
          Α
                Correct.
                And in 2005 through 2010, if an ambassador
16
17
    or somebody posted a cable that was SIPDIS, they
18
    labeled it as SIPDIS, within minutes of them submitting
19
    it, it would get put into the Net Centric diplomacy
20
    database?
21
          Α
                Correct.
```

```
And after process, basically, and placed in
 1
 2
    the Net Centric diplomacy database, it would be
 3
    available to anyone who had SIPRNET access?
          Α
 4
                Correct.
                And ambassadors and posts understood that
 5
          0
    fact?
 6
 7
          Α
                 Yes.
                 So fair to say that if somebody labeled as
 8
 9
    SIPDIS, they knew that it would be accessible to the
10
    million or so people who have SIPRNET access?
11
                 I'm not sure that they knew that they were
12
    a million or so people who had SIPRNET access, but they
13
    thought that it was a category to make sure that the
14
    Department of Defense had the material available to it
15
    just like they would put other tags on the cable as
    well.
16
17
          0
                 And --
18
                As I mentioned earlier, there are other
    ways to ensure that messages get to other users.
19
20
                All right. And with regards to SIPDIS
          Q
21
    cables, if you label it as SIPDIS, in your opinion,
```

```
would that state something about the type of
 1
 2
    information that would be in SIPDIS cables?
 3
          Α
                No.
          0
 4
                And why not?
                Because it was -- its purpose was to get it
 5
          Α
    to that -- to the Net Centric database so it would be
 6
 7
    available at the request of DOD more easily for defense
    department and potentially other -- several other U.S.
 8
 9
    government agencies also have access to SIPRNET which
    is the Department of Defense classified database and
10
    the SIP in SIPDIS stands for SIPRNET access.
11
12
                And from your perspective, did you review
13
    SIPRNET or SIPDIS cables, ever?
14
          Α
                I read cables all day long. I don't ever
15
    really particularly look at the captions. I look at
    the subject lines and I look at the summary paragraph
16
17
    and then determine from the subject line and the
18
    summary paragraph whether I need them to read the
19
    entire message depending upon what is in the subject
20
    line, want is in the summary paragraph.
21
          Q
                Between 2005 and 2010, were the SIPDIS
```

```
cables available to you in some other way besides Net
 1
    Centric diplomacy database?
 2
 3
          Α
                Yes. Because I'm State Department, they
 4
    would be available on the State Department distribution
 5
    system.
 6
          Q
                And on that system, were they separated at
 7
    all from any cable with a different caption?
 8
          Α
                No.
 9
          Q
                All right. Now, when the DOD material --
10
          Α
                Excuse me...
11
          Q
                Go ahead.
12
          Α
                Cables like NODIS and Roger channel are
13
    handled in very, very special ways. But in terms of
14
    diplomatic -- routine and diplomatic and consolate
15
    reporting, it could be SIPDIS, it could not be SIPDIS.
    It would appear on my computer screen as a telegraphic
16
17
    report from whatever embassy was the originator.
18
                When purported material from the State
    Department was allegedly given to Wikileaks, the State
19
20
    Department immediately asked the chief of submission at
21
    the affected post to review the purported department
```

cables, correct? 1 2 Α Correct. 3 0 And the State Department also directed the 4 chiefs of mission to provide an assessment as well as a 5 kind overall summary of the effect that the release of the purported cable could have on the host country? 6 7 Α Correct. In this review, an assessment was completed 8 9 in August of 2010? 10 No, sir. The request that was completed in Α August of 2010 -- not completed in August of 2010 is a 11 12 damage assessment. It was a damage assessment 13 commissioned and the damage assessment was -- drew from 14 reports from chiefs of mission, ambassadors, but the 15 damage assessment was never completed. 16 I'm not talking about damage assessment, 17 what I'm talking about is the review that you got from 18 the chief submission at the effective host. 19 They were individuals submissions from Α 20 chief submission, yes. 21 And that was completed in August of 2010?

```
There was, I guess -- I apologize. I guess
 1
          Α
 2
    I'm hung up on the "it." There were individual chief
 3
    submission reports, but there is no it, there is no a
 4
    chief submission sent in a cable. So we had the cable
    from all the chiefs submission. I'm sure they were put
 5
    in a binder, you know, alphabetically by post.
 6
 7
                If that's the "it," yes.
                Okay. And to make sure we're talking about
 8
 9
    the same "it" then, you had testified about what the
10
    Department of State had done in front of the senate
11
    committee on Homeland Security and Governmental
    Affairs?
12
13
          Α
                If you could read the section to me, I'd
14
    appreciate it.
15
          0
                Before I do that, you did do that, correct?
                I testified before the senate committee,
16
17
    yes.
18
          Q
                And there you testified that we immediately
    asked the chief submission effective post review and
19
20
    record a state material in the release in the release
21
    and provide an assessment as well as a summary of the
```

```
overall effect of the Wikileaks release could have on
 1
 2
    relations with the host country following the
 3
    completion of this review in August.
 4
          Α
                Okay.
 5
          0
                So --
 6
          Α
                All right. You're talking about August of
 7
    2010, not the August 2011...
 8
                I'm not talking about the assessment.
                Thank you. I just -- if we're talking
 9
          Α
10
    about 2010, I now understand your question.
                Okay. So let me go back then. You had the
11
12
    chief submission review, the reported State Department
    material from their area, correct?
13
14
          Α
                Correct.
15
                And you asked them to look at it and to
    give their impressions on how that might affect
16
17
    relations with the host country?
18
          Α
                Correct.
19
                And they got back to you by August of 2010?
20
                Correct.
          Α
                And when it was believed that the State
21
          Q
```

Department cables might actually be released, you then 1 again instructed all of the chief submissions to 2 familiarize themselves with the content within the Net 3 4 Centric diplomacy database? 5 Α Correct. Based upon that direction, again, you got 6 feedback from the chiefs submission? 7 8 Α Correct. 9 0 And when the press and Wikileaks announced 10 that there was going to be a release of purported cables on 28 November, 2010, that's when the State 11 Department took several additional actions? 12 13 Α Correct. 14 And one of those was to create the 15 24-7 Wikileaks working group? Correct. 16 Α 17 And as you had said, this was a working 18 group composed of senior officials throughout the State 19 Department? 20 Correct. Α 21 Q To include your regional bureaus?

Α Correct. 1 2 And how long did the 24-7 Wikileaks working 3 group conduct its work? 4 Α I think it was several months. I don't have the exact end date in mind. 5 Do you have an idea of what month they 6 7 stopped working? 8 Α No, I don't. I'm sorry. 9 0 Less than six months? Less than six months. 10 Α Now, during this period, the Department of 11 12 State kept Congress apprized of its response to any 13 potential release by Wikileaks, correct? 14 Α Correct. 15 And according to your testimony, the department convened two separate briefings for memos of 16 17 both the House of Representatives and the senate within 18 days of December 2010? 19 Α Correct. 20 And members of the department also appeared Q twice in front of the House Permanent Select Committee 21

```
On Intelligence both on 7 December and 9 December,
 1
 2
    2010?
 3
          Α
                Correct.
                And during those briefings, Department of
 4
 5
    State officials informed Congress that the
 6
    administration felt compelled or Department of State
    felt compelled to say publicly that the cable leak had
 7
    caused serious damage to American interests in order to
 8
 9
    bolster the legal efforts to shut down the Wikileaks
    website?
10
11
                You just read me a quotation. Are you
12
    quoting me or are you quoting someone else, sir?
13
                I'm asking, are you aware of Department of
14
    State officials informing Congress that the
15
    administration felt compelled to say publicly that the
    cable leaks had seriously damaged American interests in
16
17
    order to bolster legal efforts to shut down the
18
    Wikileaks website?
19
                I was the briefing officer at both those
          Α
20
    two House Permanent Select Committee On Intelligence
21
    briefings and I don't remember saying that. I was --
```

You don't believe that is true? 1 Q 2 I believe it caused damage, yes. But I 3 don't think -- the end of it is compelled to say 4 something and I don't remember saying that. All right. I understand your testimony 5 Q under oath here is that the State Department never 6 7 briefed to a House Permanent Select Committee that the cable leaks in this instance, the administration felt 8 9 compelled to say publicly that the cable leaks had 10 seriously damaged American interests in order to bolster legal efforts to shut down the Wikileaks 11 12 website? 13 I recall saying -- talking about the damage to the U.S. national security. I don't recall saying 14 15 that and I don't recall anyone saying that in my 16 presence. 17 During those briefings, do you recall 18 indicating to Congress or saying to Congress that the 19 impact of the cable release was embarrassing, but not 20 damaging? I never said that. 21 Α

Anyone else from the Department of State? 1 Q 2 Α Not in my presence, sir. 3 0 So again, under oath here today, you are saying that when you briefed congress, the State 4 Department never stated to Congress that the impact of 5 the cable release was embarrassing but not damaging? 6 I do recall that having been said. 7 Now, I want to address a couple of the 8 9 potential harms that have been documented and you 10 testified to one of those here today. Okay? 11 Α Counsel, yes. 12 Now, there have been two types of potential 13 chilling effects from the alleged leaks, the first that 14 the State Department will stop sharing information with 15 other agencies and the second that countries or 16 individuals may stop being open and frank with us as 17 State Department members; is that correct? 18 No, I've only described the second. I have 19 never gone to the first. 20 Well, that's not quite true. You've gone Q 21 to the first when you testified in front of the House

```
Permanent Select Committee, correct?
 1
 2
                No, I said -- I believe I said -- and I
 3
    would have to go back and see if I can obtain the
 4
    classified transcript of that briefing -- that we were
    certainly cutting off distribution via SIPRNET. We're
 5
    cutting off distribution --
 6
                I have a clip from your testimony --
 7
                We're cutting off distribution via SIPRNET,
 8
          Α
 9
    but we are not cutting off distribution via what we
10
    called legacy SIPs which are the other distribution
    systems. So cut off the one, but not the other.
11
    the traffic would still be available to policymakers
12
13
    through legacy systems.
14
                Secretary Kennedy, I'm going to play a clip
          0
15
    from your testimony and then ask you to comment on it.
16
                THE COURT: Are these marked in some
17
    fashion?
18
                MR. COOMBS: They're going to be, Your
19
    Honor. We may need to take a slight break.
20
    whatever reason, it's not coming up.
21
    BY MR. COOMBS:
```

```
Again, you recall testifying in front of
 1
          Q
 2
    the House Permanent Select Committee?
 3
          Α
                Yes.
                I'd like to play --
 4
          Q
 5
                             (Recorded MPEG clip starts playing...)
                Everything I've said to you -- your
 6
          Α
 7
    question was, counsel, your testimony for the house
    permanent select committee. This is not that testimony
 8
 9
    before the House Permanent Select Committee. This is a
10
    different hearing, so...
11
                My question to you, Under Secretary
12
    Kennedy, was had you testified about the two chilling
13
    effects. You indicated that you never testified about
    the --
14
15
          Α
                Counsel, I believe you were talking
    about -- you said the House Permanent Select Committee.
16
17
                I'll repeat my question and then I'll see
18
    if I need to play this, okay?
19
          Α
                Right.
20
                So I'll repeat the questions as I ask them
          Q
21
    to you word-for-word. I want to address a couple of
```

potential harms that have been documented basically to you, the two types of potential chilling effects from the alleged leaks.

The first, that the State Department will stop sharing information with other agencies and the second that other countries or individuals may no longer share information with us. You indicated that you never had testified about the former.

Is that true or not true?

A We're talking now about the senate committee. The questions posed were two-fold. Since the senate homeland committee was very, very concerned about -- since Senator Lieberman and Senator Collins, who are the chair and co-chair of that committee, they were very concerned about information sharing because they had been -- they were the authors of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act. Their question was directed at was the State Department going to cut off the defense department from the intelligence information and --

Q My question, though, Under Secretary, is

```
there were two types of possible chilling effects, the
 1
 2
    first the State Department will shop sharing
 3
    information with other agencies.
 4
                Did you testify about that potential
 5
    chilling effect?
                To Homeland Security and the senate, yes.
 6
 7
                All right. And you testified there that
    the State Department had avoided that first kind of
 8
 9
    chilling effect?
10
                The chilling effect on the distribution to
          Α
11
    other government agencies, yes.
12
                All right. You said while the State
13
    Department at that point had stopped its dissemination
14
    of these purported cables on SIPRNET, they continued to
15
    disseminate to the intelligence community system
16
    throughout other sources, one was JWICS, correct?
17
          Α
                Correct.
18
                You continued to disseminate the same
19
    volume of material at the same rate with the 65 other
20
    U.S. government agencies after the purported leak?
21
          Α
                Yes, sir.
```

```
And the State Department, in your words,
 1
          Q
 2
    don't hold anything back?
 3
          Α
                Correct.
                All right. Now, the second type of
 4
 5
    potential chilling effect, that is, whether or not
    foreign governments or citizens of foreign countries
 6
 7
    would be willing to share information with us.
                 The State Department has avoided that
 8
 9
    chilling effect too?
                 I do not believe so.
10
          Α
11
                Are you familiar with then Secretary
12
    Clinton's statement that diplomatic cables, again, are
13
    not always accurate?
14
                Are you familiar with her saying that?
                 I believe that she -- the Secretary of
15
          Α
    State did give a press conference in 2010 after the
16
17
    first traunch of Wikileaks, yes.
18
                Are you familiar with her saying that, in
    her opinion, the diplomatic cables are basically
19
20
    passing on information for whatever it's worth?
21
                 I would have to see what she said, but I
```

remember that press conference, yes. 1 2 Do you recall her then saying that most 3 leaders understand this fact, that cables are not always accurate, they're passing on information for 4 whatever it's worth and that she's found no hesitancy 5 on the part of leaders to share information? 6 That does not contradict my statement that 7 there was a chilling effect on diplomacy reporting and 8 9 analysis. 10 I understand that's your opinion. My Q 11 question to you was: Are you familiar with her 12 statement saying that she has found no hesitancy on the 13 part of leaders to share information? 14 Α No part on the part of leaders sharing 15 information with her, yes. 16 Okay. So you would agree with me that, Q 17 obviously, countries, whatever country we're dealing 18 with, they act in their own interest? 19 Α Correct.

20

21

Q

And the interests of each country are

pretty well defined by their -- either place in the

world, their economy or their history? 2 And current circumstances, et cetera. 3 There are multiple factors, yes. But these countries -- we have a -- you Q name a country, we can have a pretty good idea of their 5 6 general interests and what they would want to have happen or not happen as far as their interests are 7 pretty well defined? 8 9 Α That's a very, very broad statement and I 10 will say yes to it as a very, very broad statement. 11 Obviously, there are many exceptions that occur in 12 individual circumstances, a given country and a given 13 situation at a given time. 14 0 Other countries, their diplomacy is not 15 based on whether or not they think an unpleasant

1

16

17

18

19

20

21

freely with us?

That is correct. That is correct in that sense, but it does not go to the point that you're asking me about, is the chilling effect on individual members of that government or individual members of the

article may be put out in the press if they speak

```
private sector in that country being willing to share
 1
 2
    personal opinions with United States diplomats.
 3
          0
                Okay. My question here, though, is that
 4
    other countries' diplomacy is not based on whether or
    not they think there's going to be an unpleasant
 5
 6
    article written about them if they speak freely?
                There's no yes or no answer to that
 7
    question, counselor.
 8
 9
          Q
                Well, do you believe, I guess, other
10
    countries' diplomacy is based upon whether or not they
11
    think an unpleasant article is going to be published
    about them if they speak freely?
12
13
                I think there are circumstances when
14
    certain governments would base their diplomacy on that,
15
    yes.
                All right. I'm sure you're familiar with
16
          Q
17
    the comments and opinions of former secretary, Robert
18
    Gates concerning the release of purported cables?
19
          Α
                I recall generally his statements.
20
                MR. COOMBS: What I'd like to do is I'd
21
    like to -- and, Your Honor, for the record, I started
```

```
to play a portion of Under Secretary Kennedy's
 1
 2
    testimony. I'll have that marked -- it's on a CD.
 3
    I'll have that marked now.
                For the record, I also have another CD.
 4
    I'm going to play a portion of Secretary Gates's
 5
 6
    statement and ask Under Secretary Kennedy to give his
 7
    opinion on that.
 8
                THE COURT: All right. Go ahead.
 9
                (MPEG clip began playing.)
10
                MR. GATES: "Now, I have heard the impact
    of these releases on our foreign policy described as a
11
12
    meltdown, as a game changer and so on. I think those
13
    descriptions are fairly significantly overwrought.
14
                The fact is governments deal with the
15
    United States because its in their interest, not
16
    because they like us, not because they trust us and not
17
    because they believe we can keep secrets. Many
18
    governments -- some governments deal with us because
19
    they fear us, some because they respect us, most
20
    because they need us. We are still essentially -- it's
21
    been said before -- the indispensable nation.
```

```
So other nations will continue to deal with
 1
 2
         They will continue to work with us. We will
 3
    continue to share sensitive information with one
    another. Is this embarrassing? Yes. Is it awkward?
 4
    Yes. Consequences for U.S. foreign policy? I think
 5
    fairly modest."
 6
 7
                (MPEG clip ceased.)
    BY MR. FEIN:
 8
 9
          Q
                Is that the statement that you were
10
    familiar with, Under Secretary?
11
                I believe -- yes, I believe that was a
12
    statement Secretary Gates made in 2010.
13
                All right. And do you disagree with his
14
    statement?
15
                (Loud audio sound.)
                I do not disagree with his statement, but I
16
17
    don't it contradicts the statements I have made either.
18
          Q
                And why not?
19
          Α
                Because what Secretary Gates is correctly
    talking about is government to government interaction,
20
21
    but what I'm talking about is diplomacy reporting which
```

is both government to government, but it is also the 1 2 interaction between individual U.S. diplomats and 3 government officials who give us their views in the 4 expectation of privacy and about U.S. diplomats interacting with private sector businessmen, other 5 6 officials, non-governmental officials in a host country and so the chilling effect on those interactions remain 7 valid and are not contradicted by Secretary Gates's 8 9 statement and nor are they encompassed in Secretary 10 Gates's statement. 11 With regards to the other individuals that 12 you're talking about, members of -- not the government, 13 but you're talking about your average citizen or 14 somebody who lives in the country? 15 Who are you talking about? 16 No, sir. I'm talking about government 17 officials who render us their private opinions, their 18 private analysis which is important in helping us 19 formulate. I'm talking about it could be senior 20 businessmen, it could be senior members of the 21 educational system. It could be senior members of the

```
press. It could be senior NGO officials.
 1
 2
                Those are equally important in
 3
    understanding, in terms of U.S. national security,
 4
    where a nation might be going and that analytical
    information is critical and that is the chilling we're
 5
    talking about.
 6
 7
                And that chilling that you're talking about
          Q
    is based upon what you perceive or what you have heard
 8
 9
    from others a chilling effect?
10
          Α
                It is what has been reported to me --
11
    examples and I'd be glad to go into examples in closed
    session --
12
13
                Can I ask you a particular question?
14
                Have you had anybody come to you and say
15
    "I'm no longer giving you as much information as I have
    in the past?"
16
17
                It has been reported to me that foreign
18
    officials have said the equivalent to our diplomats
    overseas -- not to me, I'm in Washington -- but have
19
20
    said similar constraining statements to U.S. diplomats
21
    overseas.
```

```
So, for you, that answer would be no, you
 1
 2
    haven't had anybody come to you and indicate that we're
 3
    no longer sharing as much information with you in the
 4
    past?
                To me personally, no. But I am only one of
 5
          Α
 6
    10,000 State Department diplomats and others have had
    it said to them.
 7
                You say that they're not sharing
 8
 9
    information then. You are, at that point, believing
10
    that there is some deficit in the information that they
    would have been otherwise shared, correct?
11
12
          Α
                Correct.
13
                So it is potentially, kind of to use
    Secretary Rumsfeld, "the known unknowns?"
14
15
                Is that what you were talking about?
16
                I'm not sure it's a known, unknown.
17
    more likely that we have, over the course of the years,
18
    had robust dialogue with officials, governmental and
19
    non-governmental of very senior levels in society
20
    across the world and there is less frankness, less
    fulsome discussions now than there were before.
21
```

```
And again, that's based upon a perception?
 1
          Q
 2
                That's based upon individuals saying to
 3
    State Department diplomats that they doubt that or
 4
    taking other actions to restrict those -- that
 5
    frankness.
                Are you familiar with who Alex Ross is
 6
 7
    within the Department of State?
          Α
                Alex Ross was an information technology
 8
    guru at the State Department until 2012, I believe.
 9
10
          Q
                Are you aware of his statements regarding
11
    the purported leak of the diplomatic cables?
12
                No, I don't remember ever seeing Alex's.
13
          Q
                I'd like to play his statement for you and
14
    then see if you would agree or disagree with it.
15
                 (MPEG file played.)
    BY MR. FEIN:
16
17
                Were you aware of that statement?
18
                No, I have not seen Alex's statement
19
             But, again, like Secretary Gates, I do not
20
    disagree with his statement, but I do not find it
21
    relevant to the point I've been making.
```

Alex Ross was talking about we do not need 1 2 to be embarrassed by the reporting cables that were 3 That's not what I'm addressing, this particular 4 thing. I'm addressing the fact that because of the 5 information and because of the fact that people know 6 that there's been a breach of privacy and that they no 7 longer have the expectation of the privacy, that they 8 less willing to engage in the full and frank discussion 10 and exchange of ideas that they were willing to engage in before. So Alex's statement is true and so is mine. 11 12 Okay. With regards to the purported 13 release, the purported SIPDIS cables range from 28 14 December, 1966 to 28 February, 2010; is that correct? 15 Α I believe that's correct, yes. 16 And the vast majority of these purported 17 cables from came 2004 or later? 18 Α I believe that's correct, yes. 19 And that was roughly the time period in 20 which cables were beginning to be shared on the Net Centric diplomacy database? 21

```
That is how SIPDIS -- that's where SIPDIS
 1
 2
    cables went, was to the Net Centric diplomacy database,
 3
    yes.
 4
                And of the 251,287 reported SIPDIS cables,
          Q
 5
    133,887 of them were unclassified; is that correct?
                I think that's about right. It was about
 6
 7
    50/50 if my recollection is correct, yes.
 8
                And then 101,748 were classified as
    confidential?
                I believe that's also correct.
10
          Α
11
          0
                And finally, 15,652 were classified as
12
    secret?
13
                Correct.
14
                And you conducted a classification review
15
    of a certain subset of the purported Department of
    State cables?
16
17
                Are we referring, counsel, to the filing of
18
    the 100 or so cables --
19
          Q
                Yes.
20
          Α
                Yes.
21
          Q
                So you did a classification review of those
```

```
1
    cables?
 2
                Correct.
 3
          0
                And you were selected to do that review
 4
    based upon, basically, your duty position?
                Yes, the Under Secretary For Management's
 5
          Α
    responsibility is the senior classification officer by
 6
 7
    delegation from the Secretary of State.
 8
                And prior to this one, you had never done a
    classification review before?
 9
                 I looked at individual cables.
10
          Α
    classified cables, but I had not done -- I have not
11
12
    done a filing such as this, no, sir, never before.
13
          Q
                 And you had assistance, obviously, in
    completing this classification review?
14
15
          Α
                 Yes.
16
          Q
                And who, in general, assisted you?
17
                 This was subject matter experts within the
18
    State Department, both subject matter as to the rules
19
    and regulations of classification and subject matter as
    to the content of the cable.
20
21
                 So the regional or functional bureau,
```

experts on that matter and the classification experts 1 2 from the department to the rules and regulations. 3 0 And how did they assist you in the review? They prepared what is called an action memo 4 Α 5 to me which is a memo saying that we've conducted the 6 review, here is the material outlined, the situation 7 and said do you concur or non-concur, do you approve or disapprove the attached filing. So I read through the 8 9 filing and concurred in it. 10 Q No one actually sat down and briefed you on 11 any of the hundred or so purported cables? 12 Α No, no one sat there and briefed me on 13 every cable. 14 And when you reviewed the document, the 15 document that you reviewed was ultimately the document that you signed; is that correct? 16 17 That's correct and I also had -- I 18 believe -- if my recollection is correct -- this is 19 sometime ago -- I believe I also had a binder which had the cables themselves. 20

21

Did you actually type any of the

```
1
    classification review?
 2
          Α
                No, sir.
 3
          0
                Did you make any changes to the
 4
    classification review?
 5
                No, because I concurred in it.
          Α
                And you indicated that you thought you had
 6
 7
    an attachment with the hundred or so purported cables?
                To the best of my recollection.
 8
          Α
 9
          0
                Did you read each cable from start to
10
    finish as you were doing your classification review?
                 I would read the document and I think I
11
12
    skimmed through the cables.
13
                 So the answer would be no, you didn't read
14
    each --
15
          Α
                 I did not believe I read each cable
    word-for-word, no.
16
17
                What classification guide did you use to
18
    complete your classification review?
19
                 The current classification guide which is
          Α
20
    confidential. You have damage, grave damage and
21
    exceptionally grave damage, confidential, secret and
```

```
top secret.
 1
 2
                Did you actually have that classification
 3
    review next to you as you were doing this -- excuse me,
    classification guide?
 4
                No, sir.
 5
          Α
                What is --
 6
          0
                When you classify cables you have taken in
 7
    what the guidelines are and then you do that -- since I
 8
 9
    classify cables all the time, I know what the rules
10
    are. When I'm reviewing something that someone else
11
    classifies, I use the same processes when I would
12
    classify a cable in my own right.
13
                All right. So then you didn't feel the
14
    need at that point, based upon your experience and
15
    knowledge, to use a classification guide?
16
                No, sir. I used the principles of the
17
    classification guide, not a hard copy.
18
          0
                And what experience do you have in using
19
    the classification guide, actually physically using it?
20
                I -- as the agency officer in charge of
          Α
21
    classification, I am the person who signed and approved
```

the classification guide and also from 1993 to 1 2 2001 when I was assistant Secretary of State for 3 administration, the classifications and records 4 management office in the department worked directly for So I have an intimate knowledge of how they work 5 6 in the processes. 7 When you say they worked for you, were you actually reviewing what was put into the classification 8 9 guide or based upon your position were they simply 10 telling you their complete classification guide and then giving it to you for your signature? 11 12 They would give it to me for my concurrence 13 or clearance. 14 0 Before you signed it, I guess, did you 15 review the entire classification guide? I read what I sign. 16 Α 17 All right. So I guess the exception, then, 18 would be just reading the entire cables when you're 19 doing the classification review? 20 That is correct. Α Now, you had testified about -- now we're 21 Q

```
talking about the August of 2011 damage assessment,
 1
 2
    okay?
          Α
 3
                Okay.
                Did you review that draft damage assessment
 4
    from start to finish?
 5
                 I read the entire damage assessment, yes.
 6
          Α
 7
          Q
                Okay. Was this something else that you had
 8
    signed?
 9
          Α
                I never signed it.
10
                Was it done at your request?
          Q
11
          Α
                 I requested it be done, yes.
12
          Q
                And was it something that needed to have a
13
    signature then?
                 I would have approved it. If it had
14
          Α
    been -- August of 2011, if it would have been the
15
    damage assessment. But given the passage of time and
16
17
    its preparation and as we were reviewing it, we were
18
    marching on to the Labor Day release of the next
    traunch of cables.
19
20
                 I decided that the damage assessment draft
    was a snapshot in time which was not an accurate
21
```

```
representation of the situation because the next
 1
 2
    traunch of Wikileaks material purported cables was
 3
    about to be released and, therefore, saying that this
 4
    represented the damage assessment would have been an
 5
    inaccurate statement for me to make and approve.
 6
                All right. And you had indicated that
 7
    because of the fax that the State Department viewed
    this as a crisis, that you basically went into a crisis
 8
 9
    management mode?
10
                Correct.
          Α
                And, obviously, by just using the term
11
    crisis, that means it's something that's serious?
12
13
          Α
                Correct.
14
                And you said on direct that it was, in
15
    fact, very, very serious and that's why you had --
                Correct.
16
          Α
17
                -- conducted your response. And that's why
18
    you have impact review going initially to see what the
19
    impact was of the purported leak; is that right?
20
                Correct.
          Α
21
          Q
                You had indicated that you reviewed this
```

```
draft in August of 2011, but you, at least at the time
 1
 2
    of the draft, you -- did you approve or not approve of
    what was said in the draft?
 3
                It never reached that point. I did not
 4
          Α
 5
    approve or disapprove it because there was a second
    traunch of documents coming and that for me to have
 6
 7
    said this represents a damage assessment for the
    purported Wikileaks release would have been inaccurate
 8
    because it was not the entire scope.
10
          Q
                All right. You indicated it was a
11
    snapshot, basically, is what you thought up until that
12
    point?
13
                It was a snapshot, yes.
14
                And it was a snapshot up until that point,
15
    August of 2011?
16
          Α
                It was a snapshot of the first traunch,
17
    yes.
18
          Q
                And you haven't updated this damage
19
    assessment since?
20
          Α
                Correct.
21
          Q
                You haven't taken any more snapshots in
```

```
1
    time?
 2
          Α
                No.
 3
          0
                And it's obviously possible to do that, is
 4
    it not?
                 It is.
 5
          Α
                And isn't it possible, if you don't do
 6
    that, that you would miss something?
 7
 8
          Α
                No.
 9
          0
                 You don't think it's possible that you
10
    might miss some potential damage if you don't do a
11
    Department of State-wide damage assessment?
12
                No, because a damage assessment of this
13
    nature is very different in my mind from other damage
    assessments that are done.
14
                Other damage assessments to which I'm aware
15
    of or compromise of a piece of equipment or a case of
16
17
    an individual with limited access that he or she has to
18
    a string of cases. At 251,000 cables, this is a much
19
    wider range and, therefore, the scope of damage is much
    wider.
20
21
                Right, but if you took snapshots in time, I
```

guess maybe at the end of 2011, end of 2012, maybe 1 2 coming up end of 2013, you would have snapshots as to 3 the damage at that point, would you not? It's a very, very labor intensive activity Α 5 to engage in such damage assessments. The damage 6 assessments -- we are aware of the damage that has been done as I outlined the chilling effect and, therefore, 7 I do not see a need to do a snapshot now because the 8 9 damage continues to roll on. 10 Now, I guess -- I mean, that's obviously Q 11 your opinion, that it continues to roll on. If you did 12 a final damage assessment or damage assessment that was 13 a snapshot, we would have a State Department position 14 as to what the damage was at that point, would we not? 15 Α Snapshots, I do not believe are a valid 16 tool when you have an ongoing situation. 17 Do you know whether or not there is a final 18 damage assessment in the works? 19 Α I'm not aware of a State Department final damage assessment in the works, no. 20

21

Q

Has anyone ever spoken to you or indicated

to you that a final damage assessment will be completed 2 at some point? 3 Α I know that the Department of Defense has done work and I believe the intelligence community has 4

done work. But in terms of the State Department, no.

- 6 Now, obviously, you had indicated that you were -- have been a part of the Department of State 7 since 1973? 8
- 9 Α Yes, sir.

1

5

18

19

20

21

- 10 And clearly, being part of an organization Q 11 for this length of time, you have a vested interest in 12 making the Department of State look good?
- 13 That's another question that I don't think 14 is amenable to a yes or no answer.
- 15 Q Okay. You don't have to simply limit it to 16 a yes or no. You can give me a longer answer if you 17 wish.
 - Of course, I've been a foreign service officer for 40 years. Of course, I am proud of the agency at which I work. I am proud of our agency's contribution to the national security, but I don't

```
think that pride goes to the point of saying that I
 1
 2
    will defend the State Department at any cost and/or
 3
    defend the State Department when it's wrong.
                Now, let's talk about this draft damage
          Q
 5
    assessment a little bit more.
 6
                Obviously, it was an investigation as to,
 7
    at that point, what the damage was, would you agree?
          Α
                It was a review of reports from the field,
 8
 9
    yes.
10
          Q
                And just as a general standpoint or
11
    proposition, it's important to complete investigations?
12
                This is not an investigation. I totally
13
    agree with -- if you take the word investigation,
14
    investigation has a particular art form, I'm sure, in
15
    the law enforcement community and I know what
16
    investigations are because the State Department's law
17
    enforcement arm works for me, but this was not an
18
    investigation. This was an analysis and the snapshot
19
    analysis has not been completed because the damage
20
    continues to roll out.
21
                Well, obviously, you had just testified
```

that you would have no desire to minimize an 1 2 investigation just because it might make the State 3 Department look bad; is that correct? Α I said -- absolutely. I said I have no 4 desire to either perjure myself or lower my standards 5 6 by doing something that's inappropriate. And with regards to an investigation, if 7 the investigation indicated or a damage assessment 8 9 indicated that there was no damage or it was simply 10 embarrassment, then, at that point, based upon what you 11 just said, your interest would be to have that 12 completed and known; is that correct? Well, if we were talking about an informal 13 investigation or if we had talked about -- if we are 14 15 talking about a snapshot that showed that there was no

Q All right. And even at this point, though, there's been no need or desire to do another snapshot?

damage, I would take that position. But this was not a

didn't -- even, at the snapshot point in time, did not

This was an analysis and the analysis

16

17

18

19

investigation.

show no damage.

```
No, sir.
 1
          Α
 2
                You had said that your desire would not be
 3
    to stop an investigation or cease an investigation just
 4
    because it might make the State Department look bad,
 5
    right?
                I said I would not stop an investigation
 6
 7
    just because it would make the State Department look
 8
    bad, yes.
 9
          Q
                Is there any sort of investigation now into
10
    you for that very thing of stopping an investigation?
11
                There is somebody who wrote a letter saying
12
    that I stopped an investigation, yes.
13
          Q
                And is that being investigated at this
14
    point?
15
          Α
                Of course, when something is investigated,
    it's looked into by the State Department's IT.
16
17
                And is the allegation essentially that you
18
    stopped the investigation in order to avoid the State
19
    Department from looking bad?
20
                No, I have no idea what the allegation is.
          Α
21
    It just says that I stopped an investigation and it
```

```
happens to be entirely false.
 1
 2
                Okay. The ambassador that had dealt, was
 3
    that person replaced?
 4
          Α
                The individual who was there had a
 5
    four-year appointment and when administrations change,
    including a president to a reelected sitting president,
 6
 7
    the four years is up and the individual did not leave
    short of tour. No, he was not replaced because of the
 8
 9
    accusations. His tour was up.
10
          Q
                And currently, right now, you said that
    investigation is ongoing?
11
                I believe the -- you would have to ask the
12
13
    inspector general. That inspector general is outside
14
    of my purview.
15
                MR. COOMBS: No further questions.
16
                THE COURT: Government, you want to recess
17
    before we go to redirect?
18
                MR. FEIN: Yes, ma'am.
19
                THE COURT: How long?
20
                MR. FEIN: May I have a moment, Your Honor?
21
                (Pause.)
```

```
Ma'am, may we have a ten-minute recess? We
 1
 2
    don't anticipate a long redirect, ma'am.
 3
                THE COURT: Under Secretary Kennedy, same
    rules apply. Please don't discuss your testimony
 4
    during the recess. Court will be in recess until in
 5
    ten minutes to 13:00.
 6
                THE CLERK: All rise.
 7
                (There was a recess taken at 12:38 and the
 8
 9
    trial resumed at 12:51 p.m.)
                THE COURT: Please be seated. Court is
10
    called to order. Let the record reflect that all
11
12
    parties present when the court last recessed are again
    present in the court. The witness is on the witness
13
14
    stand.
15
                Redirect?
16
                MR. FEIN: No, ma'am.
17
                THE COURT: Under Secretary, I have a
18
    couple of questions. I just need to find them. You
19
    testified earlier that -- I just found them.
                You testified earlier on direct examination
20
21
    that I believe -- and please correct if I have
```

```
misquoted your testimony -- that there were
 1
 2
    approximately 250,000-plus cables on the NCD database
 3
    on the SIPRNET back in 2010?
                THE WITNESS: Yes, Your Honor.
 4
                THE COURT: And that there were
 5
    approximately $2.4 million other cables?
 6
 7
                THE WITNESS: Well, the State Department
    produces, as I mentioned, lots of diplomatic reporting
 8
 9
    and other administrative cables. Only a certain
10
    percentage of those carried the SIPDIS caption which
11
    then pushed them into the NCD, the Net Centric
12
    database.
13
                There was a full range of different types
14
    of reporting in there and there was a full range of
15
    reporting on the cables as well.
                THE COURT: So these other 2.4 million
16
17
    cables, I know you testified in response -- I believe
18
    it was to Defense counsel's questions -- that there
    were a variety of different kinds of distribution
19
20
    systems that were very limited like NODIS and some of
21
    the other ones.
```

```
THE WITNESS: Yes.
 1
 2
                THE COURT: So was it the Department of
 3
    State's intent to release or allow other agencies to
    view cables that could help them in their national
 4
    security jobs --
 5
 6
                THE WITNESS: Absolutely.
 7
                THE COURT: -- with SIPDIS?
                THE WITNESS: Both SIPDIS and what we just
 8
 9
    called, for want of a better term, the legacy
10
    distribution systems. We pushed cables out to a wide
11
    range, classified and unclassified.
12
                For example, we send cables to the Food &
13
    Drug Administration. We send cables to the
14
    export/import bank. It depends on what the subject
15
    matter of the cable is. We get them to whatever U.S.
16
    Government agency needs that cable in order to do its
17
    mission.
18
                SIPDIS was an invention at the request of
19
    the Department of Defense and the intelligence
20
    community, Office of the Director of National
21
    Intelligence saying -- trying to help in the
```

distribution of cables at the agency end, that the system we had which simply pushed the cables from the State Department's communication center to the communications center of the other agency where they then had to direct them to the respective entities in their entities. They were having a problem with that.

cables to this Net Centric diplomacy database using the SIPDIS caption and then the appropriate analyst would pull the cables in their area of responsibility down and it was an attempt to ease the distribution burden on the part of the other agencies. But this is all part of our intent to the State Department diplomatic reporting available to any agency of the United States government with classified personnel who will maintain because we have an agreement that goes back years and years with the Department of Defense, for example, that says that the agency receiving the classified material takes responsibility for ensuring that those who are given access to it have the appropriate clearances because it would be -- for the State Department to try

```
to find analyst A at Fort Huachuca or analyst B in
 1
 2
    Bolling or analyst C at Fort Gordon. That is just
 3
    simply beyond our kin. So we push it out and then
    other agencies either distribute it or they pull it.
 4
 5
                THE COURT: All right. Thank you.
 6
                Just shifting to another area now, you
 7
    testified, in your opinion, that the communications
    between -- not from government to government level, but
 8
    with the diplomats and the people they talked to in the
10
    foreign countries is chilled and I believe you
11
    testified that that was reported to you.
12
                How frequently?
13
                THE WITNESS: We have examples and I would
14
    be --
15
                THE COURT: I'm not asking you to go into
    the specifics. Just give me a flavor for numbers.
16
17
                THE WITNESS: It's a relatively small
18
    number of people actually expressing it, but more of
19
    our colleagues have a sense that the dialogue that they
20
    are engaging in with the foreign interlocutory is not
    as full as it once was before.
21
```

```
Several cases, people have just said we
 1
 2
    cannot -- we're not going to share with you like we
 3
    used to. Other cases of individuals just feeling that
    they're not getting the kind of exchanges that they had
 4
 5
    before the Wikileaks.
                THE COURT: Now, these disclosures took
 6
 7
    place in -- I believe in the Department of State
    cables, we were talking about November of 2010 followed
 8
 9
    by the second traunch, as you described it, in
10
    September of 2011.
11
                THE WITNESS: Yes, Your Honor.
12
                THE COURT: These feelings that you're
13
    talking about, were they expressed to you in 2011,
    2012, 2013?
14
15
                THE WITNESS: They started in 2010 and I
    believe that my colleagues abroad or still feeling the
16
17
    chill. But I cannot go to the depth of -- it's
18
    impossible to know what someone is not sharing with you
19
    and that is, in itself, I believe, a risk to national
20
    security.
21
                THE COURT: I know you did testify about
```

```
this, I just want to make sure I'm clear on that. You
 1
 2
    testified earlier, I believe, in response to Defense
 3
    counsel's question that there was a draft damage
 4
    assessment done in a draft form approximately around
 5
    August 2010 before the next wave of releases?
 6
                THE WITNESS: Your Honor, it was
 7
    August 2011. It reached me. I was reviewing it,
    talking to people and then the Labor Day second large
 8
 9
    traunch of purported documents were released.
10
                So, at that point, it was clear to me that
11
    the earlier snapshot which showed, you know, bad
12
    results from the Wikileaks. It was not -- it had been
    done after a year. It was not appropriate to restart
13
14
    it again because we would need time for the second to
15
    play out.
16
                THE COURT: If you can't answer this in an
17
    open setting, please don't.
18
                With the original draft, was there -- did
19
    that encompass an assessment of everything that the
20
    Department of State thought might be released or what
21
    was released?
```

1	THE WITNESS: Was released.				
2	THE COURT: Any followup based on that?				
3	MR. FEIN: No, ma'am.				
4	MR. COOMBS:				
5	EXAMINATION BY MR. COOMBS:				
6	Q The legacy distribution system, if you				
7	could, explain that in general format.				
8	A Certainly. A telegram would arrive at the				
9	State Department's communication center in Washington.				
LO	It would be read by an artificial intelligence looking				
L1	at the caption, looking at the tags. Tags are a				
L 2	four-digit or two-digit country indicator. Every				
L3	country in the word has two letters and there are a				
L 4	series of tags which are arranged from A tags which are				
L5	administrative to P tags which are political reporting				
L6	to E tags and then the following three letters mean the				
L 7	type of economic political cultural counselor activity.				
L8	So this automated intelligence reads all of				
L9	this and decides that this information is a value to				
20	the national security staff, the Department of Defense				
21	or to whomever depending on the subject and on the				

basis of this then pushes that message over classified 1 2 circuits to a designated communications center at 3 whatever agency involved and then that agency, on 4 receipt of it, makes distribution within its entity to whomever it deems appropriate with the security 5 6 clearances. 7 When you had testified during the same time Q 250,000 SIPDIS cables were put in the Net Centric 8 9 database, you had \$2.4 million cables unrelated to 10 that, going through these legacy distribution system? 11 Α Correct. 12 0 And those were going to the other 13 65 interagency partners? 14 Α Well, not everyone to every 65, but the one 15 that the AMats, A-M-A-T-S, the distribution system picked up and decided should be routed there on the 16 17 basis of reading the cable, looking for keywords and 18 terms, the tags, and the captions, if there were any. 19 And that number, 2.4 million, that was for 20 2005 to 2010? 21 Α Yeah, it was for a comparable period and

there's, obviously, a lot of administrative processing
cables in that period as well.

- Q Now, with regards to the small number of people that had expressed a chilling effect and then the colleague saying I think there's a greater number of people at least per our impressions, did the State Department ever quantify that or graph that in any way to show --
- A No. There's a belief also there have been -- we had to make personnel changes at some embassy and I don't want to go into any greater depth. That's another example of a chilling effect.
- Q With regards to the chilling effect that you believe is present, did that wane at all from 2011 to 2012?
- A I believe that's -- I believe that's hard
 to tell. I don't believe we have the full measure yet.

 I cannot answer that question. I wish I could, but I
 cannot.
- 20 Q So from your perspective, at least from 21 what you can see and what you understand, you can

```
discern any difference between what might have been the
 1
 2
    chilling effect in 2011 to 2012 to 2013?
 3
          Α
                It's the same chilling effect. If you're
    trying to -- I can't...
 4
 5
                The level of it.
          0
 6
          Α
                No, I cannot.
 7
                MR. COOMBS: No further questions.
                THE COURT: Thank you.
 8
 9
                MR. FEIN: May we have a moment, Your
10
    Honor?
11
                THE COURT: Yes.
12
                EXAMINATION BY MR. FEIN:
13
          Q
                Sir, in reference to your testimony just
14
    now and specifically about the 2.4 million cables,
15
    through the legacy system, what did you mean by alleged
    contained admin type cables?
16
17
                There was some percentage of those
18
    cables -- and, Major, I don't have the exact number --
19
    that would never have been candidates for SIPDIS since
20
    I was interpreting that as a question about potentially
21
    comparing the relative sizes, cables reporting on
```

freight movements, travel orders, assignment 1 2 notifications, temporary duty, flight arrivals, those 3 would have been in there. So a 2.4 to 250,000 is not a direct 10 to 1 4 5 comparison because what would have been put in SIPDIS is not -- we would not have loaded those kind of 6 administrative financial -- here is American embassy's 7 Zanadu's financial allotment for the next quarter. 8 Those would not have been put into SIPDIS. 9 10 Q Sir, as far as the classification breakdown 11 of 251,000 purported cables, those cables are never reviewed for their actual classification, correct? 12 13 We never reviewed all 250,000, no. 14 So those numbers, sir, that you gave during 15 cross-examination, the breakdown of 50 percent were 16 unclassified, 50 percent were classified, what do you 17 mean by that? 18 Α When you said reviewed for classification, 19 I was using the same phraseology as Defense counsel had 20 been using. We were able to aggregate and disaggregate them and how many were classified and how many were 21

```
unclassified. We did not consult -- conduct a review
 1
    of about the half which were classified in the same way
 2
 3
    that the filing did.
 4
                MR. FEIN:
                           Thank you, sir.
                THE COURT: Anything else?
 5
 6
                MR. COOMBS: Nothing, Your Honor.
 7
                THE COURT: I just have one last one based
    on that. Can you give me a flavor of -- you said
 8
    2.4 and it's not a direct correlation with the 250,000
10
    that were on SIPDIS because you have these
    administrative.
11
12
                Do those administrative, I guess, cables
13
    that are only of interest to a few people that wouldn't
14
    go out to the interagency, out of 2.4 million, would
15
    that be 50 percent, 25 percent, 75 percent? I don't
16
    need an exact figure.
17
                THE WITNESS: Your Honor, I would be only
18
    guessing. I'm very, very hesitant to do that just
19
    because that's not a way that I've ever cut them in my
20
    mind or had it presented to me.
21
                THE COURT: Any followup based on that?
```

```
MR. COOMBS: No, Your Honor.
 1
 2
                MR. COOMBS: No, ma'am.
 3
                THE COURT: May this witness be excused?
 4
                MR. FEIN: Yes, ma'am permanent excusal.
                THE COURT: Under Secretary Kennedy, you
 5
 6
    are permanently excused. You are free to go or you can
    stay in the courtroom.
 7
                (Witness left court room ).
 8
                THE COURT: We talked earlier today about
 9
10
    proceeding with the unreasonable multiplication of
11
    charges motion potentially this afternoon.
12
                How would the parties -- would you like to
13
    concur or decide how you might like to proceed?
14
                MR. FEIN: Yes, ma'am. We conferred during
    the last recess. The United States requests that we
15
    reconvene at 14:30 which will give us enough time for
16
17
    lunch and then hopefully to agree on this proffer with
18
    expected testimony and write it.
19
                THE COURT: All right. And then we'll have
    oral argument with respect to that motion?
20
21
                MR. FEIN: Yes, ma'am.
```

UNOFFICIAL DRAFT - 8/5/13 Morning Session

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140
 1
                MR. COOMBS: Yes, Your Honor.
 2
                THE COURT: Is there anything else we need
    to address today? I assume we're not going to have any
 3
 4
    other witness for the government?
 5
                MR. FEIN: No, ma'am.
                THE COURT: Okay. Court is in recess until
 6
    14:30. Carry on.
 7
 8
              (The trial was adjourned at 1:09 p.m.)
 9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
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